

THE STUDENT WORLD

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Culture and Christianity

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THE STUDENT WORLD

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Culture and Christianity

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THE STUDENT WORLD

A quarterly magazine of the World's Student Christian Federation

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EDITORIAL

Culture and Christianity

Five years ago a Japanese student made a thoughtful remark, which was recorded in *The Student World*, Third Quarter, 1939. "Things cultural," he said, "are panting under the oppression of things political." As the years have passed we have come to know better what he meant. More recently a European student sent us a message, asking why we were so preoccupied with the political crisis, while we neglected the far more important cultural crisis. At first it seemed strange that one who had suffered so much from adverse political events should utter this warning. But now, perhaps, we are beginning to understand what he meant also. We have all along realised that behind the political crisis lay a cultural breakdown, but now we are coming to see that the most disastrous result of the present catastrophe may not be in the political, but in the cultural sphere.

Official propaganda in the English-speaking world ignores this problem; for it is rightly concerned with military victory. There is even the suggestion in public pronouncements that after the forces which challenge our Western culture have been defeated we shall all live happily ever after. The attainment of the "four

"freedoms" will put mankind in a position compared with which its pre-war existence will seem sad and restricted. There is of course a political criticism, which is valid at this point, in that much of the denial of freedom in the world is not at all connected with the issues of the present struggle. For example, excellent United Nations posters in certain Latin American countries can only seem ironical to the passer-by. Already in the pages of *The Student World* we have shown that at least we are conscious of some of these political problems which the present war will not solve.

But there is a more fundamental criticism of the "four freedoms", regarded as a sufficient objective for mankind, which is not so often raised. What is freedom of worship to the millions who have lost the art of worship, do not know whom to worship, or no longer desire to worship? What is freedom of speech to those who have nothing to say, do not know where to find what to say, or are content to talk nonsense? As Denis de Rougemont points out, freedom from want is not of much use to humanity, unless it is related to a sense of vocation. And there is evidence that for many the fear from which they seek to be freed is not so much the fear of men as the fear of the unknown, or of themselves. Can it be that mankind is realising on a world scale that it must defend its freedom just at the moment when it has finally ceased to know what to do with it?

The contention of all the articles which follow is that Christianity is vitally related to this crisis in culture. Walter Horton and Claudio Gutiérrez-Marín both deal with the historical connection between Christianity and culture, and leave us with the conviction that culture must grow from religious roots. Helen Hill Miller illuminates a philosophical and theological argument by her whimsical, yet powerful, handling of a situation in life. Henri Hatzfeld, who is one of the leading younger theologians in Federation circles, courageously nails the problem down to the reading-desk and the laboratory table.

"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" is our contention as Christians facing the cultural crisis. We believe that Christianity alone can show mankind how to use its freedom. We know from the pages of history, and from our own experi-

ence as Christians, that this is true. But the world no longer believes it to be so. The Christian Church has often been too late on the political scene; is it now to be too late on the cultural scene? In intellectual and social life Christianity seems to have lost hold of the materials out of which civilisation is made. One of the peculiar tasks of a student Christian movement should be to see that another generation of Christians regains that hold. Perhaps the best place to begin is in those workshops of civilisation, which we call universities.

R. C. M.

The Cultural Responsibility of the Church

DENIS DE ROUGEMONT

There is a striking agreement between the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the statements formulated by the great ecumenical conferences. But it is none the less remarkable that none of these documents makes any allusion to the cultural order of tomorrow. And yet it is certain that if the churches continue to neglect this question, the cessation of hostilities will usher in a period of the worst confusion.

A Glance at the Post-war Situation

The youth of nearly all the countries in the world will have been subjected to several years of military training and to a more or less complete interruption of intellectual activity. We must foresee, then, a general lowering of educational levels, of the standards of classical culture, not only in countries torn to pieces by the war, but equally or even more so in countries like the United States.

In modern warfare everything contributes to a lowering of the intellectual level: propaganda, the vital necessity of simplifying all problems, of judging according to utilitarian exigencies rather than to the demands of truth, of thinking in masses or in majorities, of putting all the evil on one side and all the good on the other, of suspecting of sabotage those who maintain an attitude of exacting criticism or a normal sense of justice.

Furthermore, war always has the effect of outmoding the cultural standards of the pre-war period, even in the victor nations. In the conquered countries youth will accuse the culture of the older generation and of their parents of having brought on the catastrophe. Many of the leaders even of the present generation will have disappeared. There will be a very strong demand for new leaders, new values, a new ideal; a powerful desire to start anew, and not to fall back into the traditional errors, or to return to the disciplines of the bourgeois era.

This demand, springing from material and spiritual chaos, may well wear again the appearance of cultural fascism: the

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need of leaders, the violence of war transferred to the realm of the spirit, a taste for adventure, but also intellectual oversimplification. We saw something comparable happen in Europe after the first World War. This time it will be much more violent, for the second World War has brought into play ideologies far more potent and dynamic.

It would be romantic to suppose that the present war has destroyed all the eternal illusions of mankind. On the contrary, we have reason to fear that they will find a new virulence under new names. The post-war generations will not necessarily be more matter of fact or more cynical. (They will pretend to be, of course.) But they will undoubtedly hunger and thirst more for answers to their questions, for guidance, for catholic ideals—in the etymological sense of the word catholic—for “total” solutions in the cultural realm. For the bourgeois period has been an era of division, of the absence of relationships and of a common measure between ideal and practice, between the diverse disciplines of the spirit, between the diverse human and social activities.

The post-war years will probably be characterised by the following traits: intellectual lacunae, a thirst for spiritual adventures (among the finest individuals), need for firm direction, for “totalitarian” speed.

The Task of the Churches

If the Christian churches do not give this firm and truly catholic direction (embracing all the aspects of life), the abyss will widen between the religious world and culture. The latter will set itself against Christianity, and probably with the following orientations: science (scientism), pagan eudaemonism, the cult of those values which are said to “belong to life”, the creation of new religious, virulent nationalisms.

But if a church is to be in a position to intervene in the cultural process, it must be based on a firm doctrine, on a theology which is at the same time rigorous and vital within the church. A church whose theology is vague has nothing more to say in the domain of culture.

Such a church can still give counsel in the political field. It can, for example, approve a document like the Atlantic Charter, which does not emanate from a theology nor even directly from

Christianity. It can rally to a political attitude, inspired by pure humanism. But in the realm of culture, it is a wholly different matter. Here a church cannot adopt the ideologies made by others. It cannot speak effectively except in the name of its own theology, and by relating what it says in the most direct way to that theology.

Thus it is that the Roman Catholic Church led the philosophical movement of the Middle Ages. Thus the Reformation of Luther and of Calvin fought successfully against the Renaissance and inspired a vast cultural movement. Later, when the Roman and Reformed theologies became atrophied, they no longer dared nor yet were able to intervene as inspiring influences in the cultural controversy. The abyss began to open between the Church and culture. A Christian of the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, for example, could believe the official doctrines of his denomination, and at the same time admire Wagner, or Whitman, or Renoir, without even asking himself if this were at all compatible with his creed. For theology had in fact ceased to be living, precise, and exacting—and therefore inspiring.

Thomism inspired Dante; Calvinism inspired Rembrandt; Lutheranism inspired Bach; Puritanism inspired Milton. But the liberal Protestantism of the nineteenth century and of the twentieth, has inspired not one artist, musician, poet, or creative philosopher. Because it made no clear, strong demands, because it did not offer the creative instinct a framework and fixed boundaries to be at once a stimulus and a guide.

First, then, if the Church has nothing to give to nor to demand of culture, the latter will thereby find itself impoverished and disoriented; it will be cut off from its roots. For all Western culture was born of Christian theology and liturgy, whether in conformity with the Christian code or in revolt against it. (The great modern philosophies, those of Descartes and Hegel, were born of controversy which was clearly theological in its origins.)

And in the second place, if culture loses contact with the Church, with its doctrine and its worship, then the Church loses its most effective means of acting on the age, of transforming its beliefs into creative action. Creativity in general eludes it. All that is created, is then created outside the Church or in opposition to it and becomes difficult to integrate into a Christian conception of the world. This is particularly striking in the

Protestant countries, where a concern to relate any work of culture to a rigid theology has almost entirely disappeared—for lack of a rigid theology. The Roman Church has kept a stronger hold on intellectual creativity because it is zealous to preserve the rights and the duties of theological criticism in all fields, and not only in a negative and restrictive manner.

What then can the churches do to contribute toward the creation of a cultural order in the chaos of tomorrow? We propose a simple reply. The churches will be able to act and inspire if they are based on a firm and complete doctrine. They will be effective in the measure in which they intervene in the name of their theology. They will be effective if they make demands instead of losing interest or of following belatedly the trend of the day.

Vocation: the fundamental principle

In order to pass from the theology of a church to social, cultural, political or economic applications, it would seem to be a good idea to define certain principles or intermediary stages between theology and ethics.

The intermediate category which appears the most fruitful in the cultural and social realm is that of *vocation* (in the Calvinistic and Lutheran sense of the term, which is wider than that of Rome). The Gospel teaches us that *every* man is capable of receiving a vocation, a special call, which distinguishes him from his kind, and which endows him with an inalienable dignity to the degree to which he obeys the call. This is the fundamental principle of any social order which may be called Christian. One can also accept the idea of general or collective vocation, applied to a nation or even to a generation. Every being, whether individual or collective, for whom the Church can pray, is capable of receiving a vocation.

Now the great social and cultural maladies of the modern age have all this one common characteristic: that they deny personal vocation (whether nationalist, racial, or class collectivism, biological, moral or bourgeois materialism. Individualism is likewise a morbid deviation from the sense of vocation for it denies social and community implications). The chief criticism of this is the following: an ideology which denies personal vocation, or

a social regime which deprives man of the freedom to obey his vocation, are incompatible with Christianity.

All the totalitarian ideologies, for example, deny by definition the fact of personal vocation. They replace it with an *ersatz*: the function of the citizen within the state or the party, as decreed by the state or the party. They deny diversities or qualify them as morbid, reactionary, individualistic, anti-social. They are therefore incompatible with the Christian order which presupposes union in diversity.

All the *unitarian* doctrines, seeking to establish a mechanical and rigid homogeneity, whether imposed from above (state, tyrant), or from below (egalitarianism to the uttermost), deny personal vocation or the vocation of a group, and consider it dangerous or scandalous. These doctrines are thus incompatible with the Christian order, which implies union and not uniformity, and which respects diversity of endowment, the diversity of members in the same body, many mansions in the Kingdom of God.

A social order cannot be termed Christian unless it is founded on respect for vocation, and unless it assures to every man (and to each group or collective entity) the liberty of realising that divine, unique, and inalienable vocation.

A Christian social order will thus be ecumenical rather than unitarian. It will be federal rather than centralised (in the cultural, religious, and social realms). It will put the rights and duties of the individual (that is, the individual burdened with a vocation), before the rights and duties of the state (the organism whose task is to secure in a material sense the freedom of the individual).

The Social Consequences of Vocation

1. A Christian doctrine, centered on the idea of the vocation of individuals, will always put the emphasis on duty rather than on rights. Let us take the example of an army. Military regulations do not define the rights of a captain, but only his duties and functions. It goes without saying that the organisation of the army is such that a captain will always have the means of exercising his duties: that is his freedom, he has no other. Now the *Ecclesia militans* resembles an army far more than it resembles an abstract constitution defining the rights of the individual independently of the duties of his office.

2. A Christian doctrine which takes seriously the fact of the divine vocation of a man or of a collective body, will condemn any system which mechanically impedes the realisation of that vocation. It will therefore condemn, in the name of theology, the great bureaucratic machines, in which individuals are abstractly moved on according to the requirements of the machine and not according to their real vocations. It will condemn the system of private capital in the measure in which it sets in motion the means of material power by the chances of stock market operations, for instance, and not according to the rights derived from the exercise of a vocation. It will condemn every economic system which makes man the plaything of the interests of the State, of a trust, of material production, of individual or collective will-to-power.

3. The churches will fight on behalf of everything which assures to an individual or a collective body the legal liberty and the material means to accomplish his vocation. They will do it in the name of their doctrine, and with great precision. They will not do it in the name of conceptions which are purely humanistic or religiously neutral, such as progress, social justice (of the "left"), the social order (of the "right"), national interest, or economic prosperity.

The duty of the churches is to rethink all these categories, and to criticise them in a specifically Christian setting. For example, there must be a redefinition of the "Four Freedoms" in terms of the functioning of a Christian doctrine of vocation. (Freedom from want does not mean prosperity as an end, but the accordance of the material possibility to everyone to realise his vocation, etc.)

Thus, and thus alone, will the churches regain an effective authority. They will cease to identify themselves in the eyes of the man on the street, with this or that social class, with the established order, or with the reform of the moment. They will cease to be dragged in the wake of movements initiated by others, with motives and for ends which are not necessarily Christian.

The Cultural Consequences

From the point of view of an ethic founded on vocation, two dangers threaten modern culture: a) a false universalism, the product of an education which has no colour, confessional, philosophical or regional, and no definite ties with a real community; and b) nationalism, spiritual autarchy.

The vocation of a man or of a group is that which both distinguishes and integrates that man or that group. These two factors should be reconciled and vigilantly safeguarded—the universal factor and the one which sets him apart.

It is greatly to be desired, for instance, that institutions of education (colleges or universities) be founded on a confessional (i.e., denominational) basis plainly stated, side by side with lay, neutral or non-Christian institutions, and that all instruction, in every field, be dominated by the doctrine of the Church in question, as is the case in the Roman Catholic Institutes and the Calvinist University in Holland. This would result in the creation of centers of culture which are clearly diversified, but which favour intellectual striving and a greater integration of culture and theology.

But at the same time, in order to safeguard the universalist factor, it is necessary that in the denominational schools, reasonably thorough instruction should be given about the other denominations: the ecumenical department. For we only come to know ourselves by learning about others, just as we come to know others better by understanding ourselves.

The general attitude then would be to deepen and integrate to the highest degree each cultural vocation of the group (whether religious or national), and all with a view to the union (federal or ecumenical) of these vocations in a far more comprehensive whole—the body and its members; never to seek union through the neutralising of differences and peculiarities, but on the contrary to seek to compose them.

The second problem to envisage is that of closer collaboration between Church and Intelligentsia. In the present state of affairs, this organic collaboration is lacking. Only the ecumenical movement has given to a certain number of scholars, historians, and writers the opportunity of working for the churches as a whole. But the greater part of the denominations (especially the Protestant ones) lack the means of bringing into organic contact the creators of culture and the Church as such—the Church as a body of doctrine and as a community. In this field everything remains to be created. And something must be created if we wish to avoid the development of tomorrow's culture along lines which diverge more and more from a Christian conception of the world.

Religion and the Cultural Crisis

WALTER M. HORTON

As we peer anxiously into the future, to discern what part religion is to play in post-war reconstruction, it may help to sharpen our prophetic vision if we first cast a glance backward at the historic role of religion in the cultures and civilisations of the past—many of which survive to this day as persistent variations in prevailing social patterns. The generalisations I shall make concerning religion and culture are based partly on a study of the historic roots of our own Western culture, and partly on travel notes taken down in the course of two trips around the world, in 1932 and 1938-39, when for the first time I became acquainted with cultural traditions widely different from my own.

Religion and Culture in the West

I was born in Massachusetts, not far from the Bunker Hill Monument, and learned in elementary school something I never had to unlearn: that our New England culture had as its main tap-root the religious faith of the Pilgrims and Puritans in the sovereignty of God, and their religious hope of founding on our rock-bound shores a civil and ecclesiastical commonwealth more nearly after the pattern of the divine commands than anything so far seen in the Old World. Later on I learned to interpret the development of New England culture mainly in terms of the transformation of that Calvinist heritage by the evangelical fervour of Edwards and Whitefield, the revolutionary radicalism of the Deists and Unitarians, the romantic idealism of Emerson and Bushnell, and finally by that extraordinary galaxy of religious philosophers who taught at Harvard in the first decade of the present century: Palmer, Royce, James, Munsterberg and Santayana. Here, I am sure, in this line of religious tradition, is the vital root to which the flowering of New England culture in its prime can be traced, and from which many graceful shoots continued to spring in what Van Wyck Brooks calls its Indian Summer; since which time, with the withering of these roots, the cultural fruitage of my native soil tends to sink into a decline.

Though New England is perhaps the most history-conscious part of America, I never really met the past in all its depth and grandeur until one memorable day in 1921 when, just after landing in France as a graduate student, I went out for a morning stroll in Paris and encountered the Pantheon, with its simple and solemn inscription, *Aux Grands Morts La Patrie Reconnaissante*. As during the succeeding winter I studied the lives and works of the many "great dead" to whom France has reason to be "grateful," they arranged themselves in a pattern whose organising center was furnished by Etienne Gilson. His lectures on medieval philosophy were by all odds the most brilliant and illuminating I heard at the Sorbonne, and they convinced me that the vital roots of French civilisation still lay in the Middle Ages, despite all the efforts of eighteenth century revolutionists and nineteenth century positivists to lay the axe to those roots. Amongst the many great men who had taught or studied at the Sorbonne, Abelard, Bonaventura, Aquinas, and at a later date the Jesuits and Jansenists, were still the giants, so far as persistent cultural influence was concerned, and their nineteenth century successors rode upon their shoulders like pygmies, shouting derision at them in phrases culled from their works, and belabouring them with sticks which they themselves had cut to fend off their opponents. What was there in modern French anti-clerical diatribes that was not already better said in Abelard's *Sic et Non* or Pascal's *Lettres Provinciales*? What would be left of modern French culture if these centrifugal critical tendencies finally should destroy the sound core of medieval Catholic culture which still remained intact in France after all the revolutionary storms of modern French history had beaten upon it?

I must not unduly prolong this intellectual Pilgrim's Progress. Suffice it to say that as I have pursued the sources of European culture from the Pantheon at Paris to the Pantheon at Rome, and from Rome to Athens and Jerusalem, I have found religion to be the master-key to the whole history of the West.

Religion and Culture in the East

While I came to this conclusion through historical study, it has been immensely strengthened through travel in recent years. Until you leave your own country, and travel in foreign countries, you do not become acutely aware of the religious assumptions

which undergird all the fundamental institutions of society. European travel is in this respect not really *foreign* travel, for until the Russian and German revolutions in recent years, Europe and America were bound together by all sorts of common religious assumptions derived from the Hebrew-Christian tradition, which were as natural even to the most secular minds among us, as the air we breathed. It was only when I first went beyond Europe to countries like Egypt, India, Thailand, China, Japan, and the islands of the Pacific, that I became sharply aware of entering into a really foreign cultural environment, as if the air had suddenly changed its feel and its tang. Here, again, the clue to understanding this change of feel and tang is a religious clue. The art, the social customs, the whole cultural complex of the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, and Polynesia are simply "outlandish" and "heathenish" to the Western traveler until he learns to understand them as expressions of *Moslem* culture, overlapping in India with *Hindu* culture, which in turn overlaps with the *Buddhist-Confucian-Shintoist* culture of East Asia, and in Indonesia gradually merges into the *primitive religious* culture of the Pacific island peoples.

Out of contact with a number of such foreign cultures, there has gradually grown in my mind a concept of what a culture is. It is like a wheel, whose hub is religious, whose spokes are what we call the *mores*—the accepted folkways and moral customs—and whose rim is constituted by the "material culture" characteristic of that particular society; that is, the way they feed and clothe and house and transport themselves, and in general deal with their physical environment. It might be more suggestive of the *liveness* of a culture if I changed the figure and compared it with an amoeba or some other simple one-celled organism, whose nucleus was religious, whose moving outer edge was its material culture, and whose *mores* were a kind of elementary nervous system of filaments connecting the nucleus with the outer edge—more sensitive than anything possessed by the amoeba, but less so than the nervous system of the higher types of organism. In any event, the *center* of a culture is composed of a cluster of *ends and meanings*, for which it lives, grouped about some supreme object of religious trust and devotion which dominates and unifies them; while the *periphery* of a culture is composed of a set of *ways and means*, by which it lives. So long as a culture is in a state of health, there is unity, harmony, and hierarchical

order between the hub, the spokes and the rim. The moral ends of life grow out of the chief end of life, which religion defines. The arts and crafts, music and drama help to express, to exalt, to celebrate the same supreme ends. The political and economic systems are pervaded and controlled by moral ideals and religious meanings (the same which are glorified in art and drama and sacred liturgy), while they also form a bridge between the spiritual and material aspects of the culture; for every healthy culture must of course be adapted effectively, by a characteristic set of feeding and housing and clothing and travel facilities, to the geographic environment in which it lives, and able to defend itself, by isolation or diplomacy or by military means if necessary, against the encroachment of other cultures.

The Plight of World Culture

So to describe a healthy culture is to recognise at once that ours is not healthy. No culture on earth today, whether primitive or oriental or occidental, is in a state of health. All are in a state of inward disharmony, of dissociation and conflict between their professed or implicit ends and their actual means of living; and this conflict has reached such a pitch, in many instances, as to bring death and dissolution to the whole culture. In primitive and oriental cultures, the cause of disease and death is external: contact with the corrosive "acids of modernity" spread abroad by Western culture. In Western culture itself the cause is internal: the disintegrating effect of these same acids upon all the organic bonds of unity which once upon a time held Western society together. Let us take a look at what is happening in both fields.

In every part of the world Western culture creates a violent reaction in every other culture. Many of these are dying out suddenly, particularly primitive ones such as I have seen relics of in Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, and New Zealand.

In Western civilisation there are all sorts of mechanical devices and gadgets which appeal to more primitive peoples. They think they can adopt these without affecting their own culture, but taking them over disturbs the spiritual meaning of their culture. There is a conflict of ends and means and a collapse of *mores* is the result. The medicine-men protest, but modernised youth snap their fingers at the old taboos. Lightning

does not strike them dead, but there is a feeling of up-rootedness, they are weaned away from the soil of their ancestors, they become detached individualists. The unity of the life of the culture is destroyed. Finally even the will to live disappears, and the people begin to die off—partly from imported diseases, but partly also because the religious heart of their culture has ceased to beat, and they have nothing to live for.

This is not so likely to take place in the meeting between Western culture and the more developed cultures of the East, but even these are profoundly shaken. The harmony between their centre and their periphery is destroyed.

In Asia we find diverse reactions to Western civilisation. Turkish and other Mohammedan cultures feel that they can adopt the material side of Western civilisation without disturbing their inherited spiritual traditions. At the opposite end of Asia, in Japan, the same attempt has been made, with more conspicuous results. The Japanese have used Western contrivances in the service of oriental ends and meanings. Their central spiritual core remains Shinto, but the disharmony between this inward core and the Western externals results in nervous instability and manifold incongruities. In India the opposite has happened. The spiritual culture of the West is appreciated but the material culture is abominated. Christ is loved but modern industrialism is hated. In China they blow hot and cold by turns regarding both the material and the spiritual culture of the West. In the Boxer Uprising and in the anti-foreign movement of the twenties, both were rejected. Lately, both have been appropriated, and this seems likely to become China's permanent policy. All these nations consider that the material culture and the spiritual culture of the West are separate and distinct entities. They consider that we of the West are not integrated and that our material means at present do not implement the spiritual ends to which we subscribe as was the case in the Middle Ages.

They are right. Ever since the beginnings of the Modern Age, the material periphery of Western culture has been expanding out of all proportion to the ability of its spiritual center to direct and control the process. Bergson has described the resulting condition as "an over-developed body with a shrivelled brain". Since the improvement in our material culture has become so rapid and so absorbing, we are losing sight of the spiritual ends

and meanings which ought to be controlling our selection of the material means we employ. Albert Schweitzer in his "Philosophy of Civilisation" compares us to boys shooting down-hill in a toboggan, enjoying the thrill of motion so much that we are forgetting to steer.

Can Civilisation be saved?

Unless Western culture can recover its grip on its central meaning and purpose, unless it can look up again to the Reality that governs all human affairs and recover its faith in something more enduring than gadgets and contraptions, something enduringly true while cultures rise and fall, we cannot achieve the regeneration of our culture. Only religious regeneration, collective religious regeneration which will give our whole culture a new heart and soul, as Christianity gave a new heart and soul to dying Rome, can save Western civilisation from the disintegration into which it is rapidly slipping.

I say disintegration, and not only dissociation. Not only are the means of living becoming dissociated from the ends of life, here in the West, but every element in our culture is becoming unloosed from every other part, like a radioactive substance disintegrating. Politics and economics long ago declared their independence from morals. Education has become a collection of uninterpreted facts arranged by specialists in multifarious little heaps, with no unifying meaning. Art and literature serve up miscellaneous cold cuts known as *tranches de vie*, unrelated slices of life from which the life has departed.

Inherited morals survived for some time, as practical guides to life, after the religious faith which gave them birth had died; but now morals, too, are declining into a general relativism. The increase of divorce is connected closely with this growth of moral relativism, it seems to me. How can a man and a woman be expected to stick together for life if they have no common beliefs and no common purposes, and each does what is right in his or her own eyes?

All this dissociation and disintegration is still going on before our eyes. But another process, of horrified revulsion and instinctive pulling of ourselves together, is simultaneously going on. Above all since the rise of Nazism, with its terrific exposure of what it means to repudiate the whole moral and religious tradi-

tion of the West, and embrace complete moral relativism, complete religious nihilism, there is visible throughout the Western nations a kind of spreading blush of shame, which is at the same time a flush of returning vigour and renascent faith. The most sceptical critic of the Hebrew-Christian tradition, when confronted with the attempt to erect a culture on the anti-Semitic, anti-Christian *opposite* of everything taught by the Old Testament prophets, the New Testament apostles, the Greek philosophers, the medieval scholastics and the Protestant reformers—confronted with this, our critic can be heard to mutter under his breath, "My God, not *that*."

Religion and Reconstruction

From all that has been said, it is evident that I believe the most fundamental need of our world, in the coming period of reconstruction, is the need for religious renewal: the need to have all the ends of life freshly unified and hierarchically ordered in relation to one Chief End, which Judaism and Christianity call the will of God; the need to have art and literature freshly inspired by these ends, and politics and economics firmly subordinated to them; the need, finally, to put the mere machinery of life in the position of *means humbly serving these ends*. That, and only that, will finally restore us to social health and save us from global destruction.

If religious renewal is the world's most *fundamental* need, it is not necessarily the most *urgent*. As a matter of fact, it will certainly take too long to help us immediately very much, in this present crisis. The permeation of decadent Roman civilisation by the new Christian spirit took several centuries. Our modern means of communication permit us to transmit new impulses speedily, but do not permit us overnight to raise up prophets and apostles fit to unite East and West in a new religious consensus. God will not be *used*; He must first be listened to, and obeyed, by humble and contrite hearts; and it takes a lot of beating, a lot of humiliating failure, to make human beings humble and contrite enough to get clean hearts and a right spirit deeply renewed within them. While we watch and wait for that deep inward transformation to make us one with each other, all over the face of the planet, by first becoming one with the requirements of Ultimate Reality, there are various urgent measures we must take

at once, if this slow process of regeneration is to have a fair chance to work :

1. *Military.* We must find some way of getting heavy weapons into the hands of responsible people, acting as trustees for all nations, small or great, before these appallingly powerful means of dominance fall into the hands of a few irresponsible gangsters and we fall into slavery for a thousand years.

2. *Political.* We must find some way of passing beyond national sovereignty to genuine world government, firm enough to repress aggression, flexible enough to make readjustment of national interests and liberation of colonial peoples possible.

3. *Economic.* We must find some way of evening up the distribution of this world's economic resources, so that shocking differences in standard of living, such as subsist between different classes in many nations, and between the whole Western world and the Asiatic and African masses, are overcome before they cause world-wide revolution.

I have listed these needs in order of immediate urgency. At all three points I believe religion can help, even in the present disorganised state of the world's religious forces. All serious religious movements are at one in their affirmation of a moral order superior to man, to which human military power, human governments, human economic systems, are all ultimately responsible. Jews, Catholics and Protestants in the United States recently issued an important Declaration on World Peace, in which they declared themselves at one concerning the existence of a moral law governing world order, concerning the need of protecting the rights of individuals, weak or colonial peoples, and minorities, and finally concerning the need of institutions capable of maintaining a just order in the political and economic relations *between* states, as well as *within* states. The corner-stone of this declaration is the proposition laid down in the first article, that "not only individuals but nations, states and international society are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law that comes from God."

To such a declaration many oriental religionists would also subscribe. Certainly the Confucianists, who taught the Golden Rule long before Christ, would subscribe to the fundamental proposition that there is a superhuman moral law—the way of

Heaven, which all their sages endeavoured to enunciate—ruling over international as well as over inter-personal relations.

While our religious forces remain disunited, we must pool our existing religious traditions in support of common objectives. But we must likewise aspire to a world-wide religious unity deeper-going than this, like the unity which the triumph of Christianity gave to the Roman world. So far as Protestants are concerned, no world unity is desirable which involves a sacrifice of freedom, or of the sacred right of each man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. But in recent years, Protestants have discovered a way out of sectarian division into growing unity, without sacrificing freedom, in what is called the ecumenical movement. In this movement the old fatal alternative—either freedom without unity or unity without freedom—seems to be overcome. The oneness which now binds together many Protestant sects which used to be hostile, in the World Council of Churches, we believe may some day be extended beyond Protestantism. Some day it may bind Protestants together with God-fearing men of other faiths, without disloyalty on either side, into a new religious unity which will in the end restore health to our sick and divided world culture.

Culture and Christianity

C. GUTIÉRREZ-MARÍN

Ancient chronicles relate that the Great Emir Abderraman the Third, the real glory of the Cordoban Caliphate, "commanded that the mosques be constructed beside the schools, so that from childhood man may become accustomed to see in the path of his life both culture and godliness together". And even now the Arab people observe the wise precept of the Emir as a traditional usage. Amongst my scholastic memories of the old Spanish land appears that of an ancient Castilian city, where for a period of five years I could read the following inscription painted on the front of the school building which I used to attend : "*Initium sapientiae est timor Domini*". (The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.) This phrase taken from the Book of Proverbs was the guide-post to the scholastic life. And in that inscription upon the wall I found an inspiration for my own life. Culture and Christianity are like two great oars in the barque of life upon which humanity, anxious to see better days and enjoy peace, will put its hands. But, be it fully understood, we are speaking of a culture of the Christian spirit and of a Christianity of the cultured spirit.

The faith of uncultured humanity

Humanity has gone through different stages of evolution, both determinate of, and determined by, its way of thinking and living. In the world's dawn faith holds the first place in the social scale. Man is more a believing than an enlightened being. Religion in its embryonic form (animism, fetichism, idolatry) is all. Life moves round that faith, due, undoubtedly, to the fact that the human soul has always felt the necessity of believing and a great longing for happiness. In the dwellings of primitive man, caves, caverns, huts, there has been found, alongside hunting instruments and weapons, tools and utensils, a trace of faith (totem paints, strange symbols), something at least to show a spark of faith. The original tombs are silent expressions in this

same language. That this godliness is rudimentary, absurd and even barbarous, lacking dogmas and unprovided with temples, does not matter. The main thing is to show the positive fact: man believes in something, he believes in someone, and in his own way he worships and tries to ingratiate himself with the supernatural. There is no tribe, no people on earth, who may not have been deeply religious in their own manner. The altar for offering and sacrifice is lifted just the same in east and west, either as a heap of logs or earth, or in the stone laid down or erected, or simply appearing beyond the distant horizon in the natural summit of rising ground, or the rough crest of a mountain.

Man believes; man worships. If upon this historic fact falls the depreciative phrase that "man is a religious animal", this same disdainful qualification will also be for him his glorious achievement. And, in opposition, man does not *know*, man moves in the shadows, ignorant of almost all. His culture scarcely raises him above the level of the beasts. For this reason his faith will be superstitious, a sort of credulity highly motivating for one who would go into the innermost places of the soul. Therefore, by walking so, in the absence of a reasonable and prudent light, man is restless in the mists of the ages, driven by a rush of confused and contradictory ideas, and launches forth to deify the sun and the moon, and is persuaded that the spirits, able to animate all things, move in the water, in the wind and in the clouds; he sets up his sanctuary in a tree, a hill or stone and surrounds it with a holy and puerile terror; he sticks his sword in the ground, bows down before it, and finally, makes out of an irrational although beneficent being, a god or a goddess. Man nevertheless continues to believe and worship. He may be uncultured, yet he is a believer, a barbarian but a godly man. And in the midst of advancing humanity, there always appears the hieratic and mysterious figure of the magus, wizard, or soothsayer, prophet and priest at the same time, joining in his person and office faith and culture. He is the guide to blind people who still grope in darkness. According to his judgment life around him goes forward. In his hand is sentence for the present and the future. Faith continues to be the whole; yet man finally comes to understand that besides the precious gift of faith there exists in him another gift as valuable, intelligence. This spark will force him to take the road toward the conquest of the earth, leaning upon the shield of his faith.

Religions and civilisations

Amidst such feelings more or less clarified, culture begins to appear. It seems as if it is harder for man to learn than to believe. Observation, experience and meditation lead him to write the first page in the book of culture. He may weep and lament, yet he goes forward. His culture, drawn from the mystery of life by means of a superhuman effort, is moulded, producing successive civilisations, though civilisation is undivided. There is only one civilisation, as there is only one humanity. Faith in its turn makes its concrete manifestations, and the altar, the temple, the priesthood, the dogma appear as an immediate consequence. The so-called positive religions take their place in that course. Faith is always positive, else it would cease to be faith. The superior forms of religions, although not at all dispossessed of superstitions almost unrootable, adopt concrete positions. And once on the road of human ascent, faith and culture continue walking side by side, possibly through clearly distinguished fields and without hindering or excommunicating each other. They are like two congenial sisters who feel the necessity of living united for greater blessing and better results. How much, or what do they owe to each other? Nobody can fix this agelong debt, for while it is true that culture has been, and must continue to be the means of purifying faith within the rational field, it is also true that faith, as a feeling and as a life and moral law, has served and will still serve greatly to exalt Humanity.

This effective union, observed in the first manifestation of culture and faith, becomes more evident in the old world associated with Greece, the mother of philosophy and Rome, the origin of Law. In Hellenism and Latinism faith and culture bind themselves in relations of friendship. Greek philosophy speculates on theology. Plato or Socrates speak as the most cultured priests of their time could have done. Philosophy does not try to put down religion, though it may lack dogma or be a simple religious feeling without doctrinal body. Philosophers do not discuss the gods, nor do the gods excommunicate the philosophers. If there is a short distance between them, it is due to the philosophers' eagerness to surpass religion, in a chimerical attempt, almost always frustrated, to direct the mind of the people toward a more purified faith. Theological unity cannot be a successful postulate of the Platonic and Socratic philosophers. In turn Greek art and literature would not exist without mythology.

Rome, heiress of Greece follows the same rule, Virgil the poet, or Cicero the orator, invoke their deities in their speeches and poems. Culture and godliness complement and comprehend each other, though the diverse doctrines of the one, and the superstitions of the other are sometimes opposed to morality.

Does Christ exalt ignorance?

With the appearance of Christianity as a new faith and expression of life, a tendency to misinterpretation arises. It is suggested that Christianity is going to launch forth against philosophy and to produce a terrible schism between faith and culture. Deplorable doctrines begin to appear. (For instance there was that famous one known as the "Abecedarian heresy," named so because ignorance even of the ABC was lifted to the rank of a dogma!) To be no scholar was to them the first step in reaching faith. Such an extravagance was caused by a false interpretation of the prayer of our Lord: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes" (Matthew 11: 25). From this many Christians made the deduction that God blessed and exalted the ignorant, and that ignorance was necessary to attain to revelation. Of course nothing could be farther from the truth. God, the creator of human intelligence, could not, and can never, set aside its value for man; neither wisdom nor science can be definite obstacles in the acquisition of faith. A God who would like to have ignorant servants, just because they are so, could never deserve to be called a God. What Jesus meant and said was that the "little ones", "the humble", the simple-hearted, were and will always be nearer to the path of faith, because they are free from the pride which science, and too much learning very often bring forth; and because they do not seek first by means of reason the wherefore and the basis of faith and divine matters, but accept the same as a gift.

We are perfectly aware, as the Apostle Paul would say, that "knowledge puffeth up" (I Corinthians 1: 8), that is to say, that science occasionally darkens the vision of things divine, and even is unable to perceive that which really is not a question of science, but a concern of faith. Moreover the wise "babe", who is conscious of little knowledge in himself, and who can even

say, "I only know that I know nothing" (Socrates), and much less regarding that which is supernatural, namely revelation, is as near the Reign of God as any other mortal not in the possession of mental capacity and human science. Christ does not exalt ignorance but humility. The process of faith opens its way more easily in the heart of the humble. It is related that when the great Augustine, that luminary of the Church, was questioned as to which was the road that led to God, he replied: there is no way to God but humility. They again asked him if there could still be others, and the Bishop of Hippo answered: Yes, there are two other ways: the second one is called humility, and the third one . . . humility. That great man of faith and science spoke the truth. Paul's attitude in Athens when lamenting the Athenian idolatry was not that of a challenge to Hellenic culture. Paul does not argue about the Greeks being ignorant or unbelievers, but he emphasises the fact that the Christian truth which he proclaims is superior to that which the priests and philosophers believed and sustained. Paul attacks the idolatry of the Greeks, but not their culture, and if he uses hard words against the wise of this world and calls them fools (Romans 1: 22 and I Corinthians 1: 20) it is to say, not that they should cease to be wise, but that because of their wisdom they cannot see the truth as revealed in Christ, "who of God is made unto us wisdom" (I Corinthians 1: 30).

Christianity as an exponent of culture

We find another proof of the association between faith and Christian culture in the four great figures of the Church of the first centuries. Tertullian (160-245), Clement (150-215), Origen (185-254) and Augustine (354-430), are certainly not uncultured, but glorious exponents of a whole Christian and universal culture. Their treatises, their exegeses, from a philosophical and doctrinal point of view, do not need to envy the most advantageous philosophies and sanest doctrines of the Greeks and Romans. Another argument is found in the appearance of the Fourth Gospel, coming out of the Alexandrian school. The Gospel of St. John which really is the theological Gospel, is intimately related to philosophy. It is a Gospel in which, as in no other, symbol and mystery are inseparably united. The philosophy which it contains is very close to the founts of Greek philoso-

phy; and nobody doubts that this is the first of all the Gospels, as far as cultural and doctrinal rank is concerned.

Later centuries disclose another demonstration of the union between culture and faith. When the wave of monasticism invaded the world, the monasteries, abbeys and convents became the living archives of human culture, and in their shady vaults and picturesque cloisters, the learning of the epoch found a refuge. Even now, the great libraries, full of chronicles and the illuminated manuscripts of the ancient centers of solitary and contemplative faith, continue to hold immense treasures for modern civilisation. And we may not forget that, when the university, the maximum exponent of culture then as at present, appeared in the world, one of its most thronged and venerated lecture rooms was that of Theology, and in it the ideas of famous men were propagated. In them Aristotelian thought, scholastic thought, with Thomas Aquinas as its head, was the owner and mistress of the intellectual life of the university scholar. And to end these great sweeps of association between culture and Christianity, we may not forget that Humanism, the Renaissance and the Reformation, the three great influences upon future generations started from men who were not only believers but enlightened, who did not abhor science nor put a stop to investigation, but with greater or lesser accords and disagreements went forward, endeavouring both to extol culture and to purify faith.

It must be said for truth's sake that Christianity created a whole civilisation (art, philosophy, tradition) which, although imperfect, with great faults and gaps, yet forged a new method of life and led the human mind through paths that fortunately we men of the twentieth century are still marching on. It is true that some kind of a contradiction could be pointed out between faith and culture at certain definite moments of history and that the case of Galileo could be named as a sorrowful parenthesis in this grand harmony. But this example and many others which abound in the history of the Reformation and the Counter-reformation are not only sporadic, but are not in harmony with the Christian spirit. Those who occasion them are rather sons of fanaticism and supine ignorance; they are not and never will be the faithful paladins of the Christian faith. We must not confound the Church with the Christianity which is life; tolerance, peace and love are always above the dogma and judgment of the Church represented by fallible and imperfect men.

The dilemma of the modern world

There is a tendency at present on the part of some representatives both of ecclesiastical obscurantism, and the puffed up materialism in fashion, to show us, as they say, the antagonism which exists between religion and social life, between dogma and history, between science and revelation, between man and God. To many people science is an obstacle, and, more than an obstacle, an impediment to faith and, for others, faith is a pernicious barrier that obstructs life and sets progress back. The struggle is rapidly revealing itself. In it there is a supreme objective: to ascertain the path that will save the world. Will it be culture, or will it be Christian faith? Allow me to copy a very eloquent paragraph of Baker's, who in his brief *Initiation to Philosophy*, commenting upon Descartes, says: "Eternal life has ceased to be real. The spirit has been proscribed from our mind and conscience, cast in oblivion once more every time. So it happens, that the characteristic products of modern science are explosives and vessels. It is demonstrated by this, that science without conscience is an abomination." This is profoundly true. If Christianity were merely a philosophical creed or a theological system or a more or less attractive history of the life of Christ and the acts of His followers, its value would be small; but Christianity is something more than theoretical faith, more than an elevated idea and more than a moral code, rigid and written. Christianity "is life", and a life that infiltrates into man's own life to cause him to be reborn to a new life, creating in him a conscience, perfectly orientated for the service of humanity. Christianity will always be necessary, not so much to science as to the scientific man, to the cultured man. And if in a man's heart the Christian spirit is found, this same science will be ennobled and purified, inasmuch as Christianity deals above all with man's total salvation. Culture by itself cannot save the world. The seven wise men of Greece together could not stop the headlong collapse of their nation. Nor will all the wisdom of the whole universe without a Christian spirit ever be able to save the world. Culture needs faith, because faith not only guides, but elevates and purifies.

On the other hand, science has not resolved, nor is it able to resolve, all human problems, not even the most important ones that disturb and worry any human being of average intelligence. The world with its manifold riddles and its life, which is in fact

already highly complex, requires for their solution something more than hypotheses and statistics. Moral life cannot be cured by mathematical formulas, nor human sin be blotted out by scientific analysis. And exactly there is the stronghold of Christianity, in "practical life", personal and collective. Reason itself impels us to this affirmative idea. Epictetus, the slave, and with him all the stoical school might say: "As I am a rational creature, I shall glorify God." That is, by reason of the fact of being a man and possessing an intelligence, I cannot do less than seek a life that may be in relation to the divine nature, because that same nature manifests itself in me.

One foot in heaven

Faith as well as reason, Christianity as well as culture, are two gigantic forces. By the one man is raised in thought to God, through the other he turns himself into a lord of all creation. If one is necessary for living the higher life of the spirit, the other is essential for living a noble life in the world. Not long ago in one of the main picture-houses of Mexico was exhibited a film entitled "One Foot in Heaven", and . . . the other in the earth. I must confess that this film deeply impressed me. In it was described the life of a Christian pastor, his hopes and sacrifices, his struggles, his ideals. A life of love and service springing from a cultured and believing heart. That life is not only attractive but useful and necessary. To walk like this, with one foot on the earth and the other in heaven, is a wholesome and beneficial programme, not tying ourselves so much to the earth that heaven seems to us something very distant and probably utopian, nor soaring away up into the clouds of faith without an earthly objective, so that we overlook the fact that God has placed us in the world to live in it.

A wise man without faith is like a beautiful tree full of leaves that can at most offer shade to the traveller, and perhaps with its fruit mitigate his hunger, but no more. A man of faith, without any culture at all, or even with an aversion to culture, is like another tree, whose feeble branches are lifted to heaven in an attitude of constant prayer but which can neither give shade to the traveller, nor fruit to those who hunger for spiritual food. The model of humanity is not found among the ascetics, or amidst the investigators or philosophers, only in Christ; in Him are harmonised the knowledge of life and the certainty of belief.

The worst a Christian can do is to abominate culture, and the worst a cultured man can do is to abhor faith. "It is as foolish to believe all as not to believe at all," says Socrates, and we add: "It is as foolish to believe that we know all, as to believe that we need not know anything." And if we are to find the perfect human balance in the harmony of faith and culture, let us seek the road to becoming believers and even of culture. Aside from this, the irreducible opposition between reason and faith does not exist for many; neither can it exist. We say with Augustine: "Faith aids reason, and reason supports faith," and with Thomas Aquinas: "Reason and Faith cannot contradict each other, since reason, as well as faith, proceeds from God."

Science and faith as factors in human progress

Christianity with its own overpowering strength knew how to sweep from the world the most dreadful plagues that invaded the earth. As it passed, cruel castes, coarse idolatries, infanticides, noxious polygamies and bloody offerings tumbled down. Human personality found its place in the heart of the people influenced by Christianity. Man's worth was not achieved by the French Revolution, nor was that of reason enthroned by the Renaissance or the Encyclopædist. Christianity had long before then given to the world the Table of the Laws of man, and declared that the human spirit and man's creative power, the intelligence, were gifts from God. From the most equitable laws to the soundest traditions, all of them have either arisen, or have been transformed for good, by the ever noble fragrance of the Christian spirit. And Christianity continues to have the same force and the same power as twenty centuries ago. Christianity has no reason to fear the disdain of so-called "rationalist" science, because it is necessary for the life of man and of humanity. As long as despair flings souls upon the ground and evil overwhelms all in a horrible confusion and moral misery, man will always seek in the arms of the Christian faith the hope that comforts, the strength that saves and the virtue that exalts.

Thus let faith manifest and use its power, where the sores of humanity are evident, and not formalise it to live locked up, as in a holy ark, in the silent crypts of the temples. Let it extend its arms to a world bewailing and seeking, often without hope, for the safe way of peace, and love and good will. By so doing, and by rushing to the conquest, not of the earth, but of bitterness

and disappointments wherever found, faith will be blessed by all; or at least it will not be considered by science as something unfruitful and void of common sense, but as something essential for the realisation of a better world. And let science in turn seek the clue to the mystery of things affecting humankind. Let it bring out from the shadows of night the lights that can better show the way for men who struggle. Let it go forward on the path of victory, in the laboratory, in the lecture-room, in the shop and in the study of nature, rendering up its treasures to poor humanity which always hopes, and at times grows tired of waiting. Let science have as its only objective *man*, and it will be seen at last, that in following this road, it will meet with faith at a vital point for humanity: *in man himself*, whom it is necessary to save materially and spiritually through divine and human forces.

Could we bring home to the universities, or even better to the hearts of young students, the fact of transcendental nature, that it is quite possible to profess all theories subject to science without detriment to the Christian faith, and that the human spirit can fully unite the highest Christian beliefs with the most explicit affirmations of wisdom, we would have gained a triumph, both on behalf of the personal life of the student and of the happiness of humanity. If all scientific men, nowadays, would fight in the field of faith, and would at least pay attention to the sublime realities of Christian spirituality, and if all those that confess Christ with their lips and hearts would make every effort to control eagerly for themselves whatever novelties science scatters in the world, we are quite sure that blessing would accompany these and others, and that life, which actually is full of darkness, would give entrance to the resplendent light proceeding both from wisdom and from faith. A healthy youth of a healthy mind and spirit ought to be the purpose and goal of all those who have the noble task of giving orientation and guidance to young people who study, and to youth that believes.

The Inner Fight for Freedom *

HELEN HILL MILLER

What is the chief end of man?

In the shorter catechism, through which you have been making such uncertain weekly progress, you are at any rate aware that the first question reads: What is the chief end of man? You will need a better answer to that question than most of the answers that have been given in my lifetime. For our second chance cannot be accomplished by external procedures alone, by plans and projects, by memoranda and directives. The fight for freedom is an inner as well as an outer fight. Its outcome depends in part on the conditions of our military victory and the adequacy of the framework which we then establish. But its outcome also depends on our individual success or failure in the personal struggle to be free men. The human exercise of power requires a very definite idea of what a human being is like. In the absence of such an idea, the memoranda, plans, procedures of a free order will serve as ticker tape bidding bestially exercised power welcome to the city.

To get a view of man consistent with human freedom, and to hold it, you boys will have to be tough citizens.

You will have to be prepared for the fact that the world in which you will live at least part of your lives will be much worse than the between-wars world in which I came to maturity. In that world not much more than lip service was paid to the Western tradition. But today, vast areas are in the grip of forces whose view of man denies the Western tradition utterly. Their cruelty and their ferocity are so debasing millions upon millions of people that civilisation will be a long time finding its way again after the blood-letting is over. To destroy an order in which body-guarded despotism shows itself in the streets by day and fear runs by night through the alleys we must fight that order hand-to-hand. In the jungles, the deserts, the Arctic, we have

*This article is taken from a chapter of the author's recent book, *Yours for Tomorrow*, which is addressed to her two sons.

been acquiring proficiency in the quick kill, shadow-to-back, knife-in-the-jugular, fingers-in-the-eyeballs. We shall now use that proficiency in its places of origin. This is entirely necessary. But we shall have continents corroded by hatred and disease and famine and memory, afterwards. If you look back to the years after our Civil War, to the years after the Napoleonic era, to the years after the religious struggle of the sixteenth century, you can count the time required for the licking of wounds before it was possible to get up and get on with the future. Do you remember the Chinese proverb that T. Z. Koo told us: "If two tigers fight, both will be badly wounded?" You will have to be tough enough to take a world like that and live in it without bitterness and without evasion.

An answer sought for twenty-five years

My generation took the world of its youth with bitterness and evasion, both. Bitterness was the stock-in-trade of the debunkers. For all men except those who were self-avowedly self-seeking they had the single epithet: "Hypocrite." They were economic determinists, American style; their conclusion about life could be summarised: "Root, hog, or die; root faster than the next guy, and die rich." Many of those who accepted this whole-hog definition of man found totalitarian government easy to understand.

The debunker's denial that there was any moral basis for economic action was beguiling as a contrast to the hypocrisy that was our alternative treatment of public life. The pap on politics fed out through our public schools was a sample. The public school teacher is on a spot in this matter. She has an obligation to keep the schools out of politics. But it has prevented her from transmitting to our future citizens any view that might be regarded as a judgment on government as conducted in our time—any view, that is, except one of rosy acceptance. Consequently, future citizens have been treated to insipid descriptions of the political process as one in which good men with good intentions pass, operate under, and judge according to good laws for the general welfare of all people—and now, children, we will rise and sing the "Star Spangled Banner." (You boys, with your father in the state legislature for two terms and me in a federal administrative agency during the 1930's have had other sources of information. You can give names, places, dates to political

skullduggery; you can give names, places, dates to political morality—and at one time or another, in this very human world, most of the names appear in both categories. You know that the process of government is a tough job of relating self-interests and the general interest—far from being natural opposites the two are inseparably intertwined. And you know that those who are so pure that they stay above the battle are in fact a main resource of the machine—their default reduces the electorate to manageable numbers.)

The chief reason, perhaps, why my generation has accepted either a hypocritical fairy tale or a shallow wisecrack as a definition of the mainspring of man's action is because we were not very interested in man. We have been far more occupied with matter.

President Conant tells of the surprise of members of the Harvard faculty who once selected "Man is the measure of all things" for the inscription over the doorway of a new building only to return from vacation to find that their then president had substituted "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" During the years between wars we inclined so strongly to the former sentiment, that man, rather even than being the measure of all things, became merely their measurer. For our answer to the question, what is the chief end of man, we looked to research.

The Scientist's Answer

The scientists said, "Knowledge of my particular specialty is the chief end of man" and the world of the intellect became criss-crossed by the narrow gauges of the single-track mind. The industrialists and their satellites who put the researchers' findings into merchandisable shape said, "Bigger and better business is the chief end of man"—and when their business wasn't bigger and better, they jumped or fell with the graph of the stock market. The Joneses said, "Possession is the chief end of man"—and turned into button pushers, dial turners, gadget operators.

In the early thirties a group of New York intelligentsia, planners, technicians, writers for radical journals, asked Henry Wallace to spend an evening with them. They were interested primarily in the work he did some years ago in the scientific development of hybrid corn. They had a lot of technical questions they wanted to ask him. Finally one of them said, "Mr. Wallace, if you had to pick the quality which you thought most

important for a man to have in plant-breeding work, what would it be?" The answer startled them: "Sympathy for the plant." In their scientific world of quantitative analysis they had long regarded the objects of their experiments solely as things, as just so much inert matter to be dealt with. The idea that there could be unrealised capacities in plant life, and that sensitivity to these capacities could aid in the selective production of a better plant, was so foreign to their way of thought as to leave them dazed, embarrassed, groping for some way to get the conversation started again.

The insensitivity to the qualitative side of life that has accompanied our absorption with matter has several sources. With the exceptions that are too rare, the ministry since the religious revolution has little by little attracted the less able men of a given time; this has widened the gap between the scientific and the faithful. The body of ideas transmitted by the various Christian sects contains statements which the scientific generation does not believe to be true. There has been little facing of the discrepancies: the faithful have taken refuge in the letter and the scientific have shrugged and said, "I wouldn't know." The Church's record as a secular institution in the world of property in our time is not a good record—the Catholic alliance with feudalism and Protestant alliance with capitalism have been marked by too many purchases of matter with the things of the spirit. The churches in a spiritual sense have a very shadowy existence; the word signifies a building or a hierarchy or a board ten times for every once that it signifies a community of the faithful.

But our uncertainty as to the spiritual end of man is mainly due to our own private ignorance.

Not too long before Hitler came to power, I had a talk with a Dutch theologian for whose religious intelligence I have a profound respect. He was discussing the then-vaguer objectives of National Socialism. "It may well be the bridge for which we are looking to span the gulf between left and right," he said, "seeking as it does to combine the qualities that have made for greatness in the nation-state with the increasing demand for a distributive society."

I looked at him firmly: "If I made a theological statement as naïve as that," I commented, "how you would roar."

"You have certainly given me enough occasions to do so," came the quick answer.

And for a fact I had. We of the scientific generation recoil from medieval notions on such topics as medicine or mechanics. But for crude superficiality, our ideas of sin, conversion and heaven are certainly a match for them.

A Moral basis for Society essential

Uncomfortable though we may be when we first come to talk about it, we cannot permanently dodge the necessity of having a moral basis for our society. People, youngsters like you growing up, are not going to serve a society that has no reply to their questions as to its purpose except "so what?" When we see the Nazis and the Japanese treating men as things without a split-second's hesitation, we know that it's not right. But we falter a good deal, when we try to say why, because the difference between right and wrong, good and bad, cannot be made clear without discussing values, and values are something we are not accustomed to talk about.

We have carried tolerance to fantastic lengths these last years. We have assured each other that to run a society like ours men must not make judgments; they must live and let live.

There is a place for tolerance in our society. But there is an equally important place for intolerance. Only under certain narrow conditions is tolerance possible: only if the citizens who form the tolerant society believe that all the members are potential contributors to its governance, and only if the members do not abuse their privileges to the detriment of the framework which makes those privileges possible. Intolerance of those who question the desirability of that framework—intolerance, that is, of those who doubt the correctness of the view of man whose expression the framework permits—is indispensable to the continuance of a tolerant society.

The line at which a live-and-let-live attitude must stop was clearly enough seen by the men who inaugurated tolerance in the United States in Article 14 of the Virginia Declaration of Rights:

That religion, or the duty which we owe our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reasons and conviction, not by force or violence: and, therefore, that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, unpunished

and unrestrained by the magistrate, unless, under colour of religion, any man disturb the peace, the happiness, or the safety of society.

But in our own time, we have been very much less clear about this limit. Domestically, we have seen representatives of totalitarian forces, both foreign and homegrown, claiming the protection of our Bill of Rights while disbelieving utterly that men are entitled to that kind of protection. And we have appeased their claims with muddleheaded squeamishness.

We have been shocked at the idea of enforcing a way of life abroad until faced with a mortal threat when what we thought was none of our business became Nazi agenda; we wholeheartedly endorsed tolerance in the form of unlimited national sovereignty; it sounded fine: we run our government the way we like to and you can run yours. But it didn't listen so well when all-Aryan supermen began their march into thirteen countries, saying "Today we own Europe, tomorrow the whole world." Now we begin to realise that only in an organised framework entirely intolerant of certain kinds of behaviour will a tolerance based on mutually respected rights be possible. We who have shrunk from discipline begin to see its necessity.

There is pathos in the American phrase: "Now there's somebody who is a *real person*." It intimates that while we have a hundred and thirty million people in our country, the number of real persons among them is small enough to be remarkable. A real person is some one who has a sense of values on which he is quietly prepared to take a stand, some one whose decisions are made within, not accepted from without. Such men understand freedom. Their activities are the growing points of our society, the additions to the tree of liberty which provide its branches of tomorrow. If growing points are not formed, the tree stunts and eventually falls.

Discipline needed for membership of Society

It is to live a precarious life at the growing points of our society that you and the millions of other children of today must be readied, trained, disciplined. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the people of the Western World, your people, cared enough about the issue of the religious revolution to fight for it, and had enough discipline and skill in the organisation of society

to make room for freedom of religion when the fight was over. In the eighteenth century, the people of the Western World, your people, cared enough about the issue of the political revolution to fight for it, and had enough discipline and skill in the organisation of society to make room for political freedom when that fight was over.

The issue of our time is to make room for the economic revolution as part of our society. In meeting this issue you cannot rely solely on the revolutionary tradition to which you are heirs—the people who try to live as posthumous housekeepers of the founding fathers are well on their way to being fired. You will have to make your own way forward.

How can we train you for this future? The paradox, revolutionary maintenance of a tradition, has a parallel in the two qualities I would most like to transmit, a sense of self-reliance and a sense of interdependence.

You can get the beginnings of both here on our farm. In the fields, the orchard, the garden, you have learned that nature is a very independent ally. You have lived through the cycle of drought and downpour; in 1941 the ponds turned green and shrank and crackled and you saw us truck water to the insatiable cattle; in 1942 when gullywisher succeeded gullywisher you watched weeds take your garden, knowing that you would make brick out of our red clay soil if you walked on it when it was wet, yet estimating the hours required to root out full grown ragweed left until the wet spell was finally over.

Through your share in the farming, you can grasp the interdependence of the things that you do and the world economy. You boys have a chance to learn these things about the economic process because we have chosen to live on a farm, where life and livelihood are not separated by the distance between flat and factory, house and office, that subdivides city life.

But what you learn through our farm operations concerns chiefly your relations with things—and with animals, you would be quick to add. Even more, you need to learn something about the paradox of self-reliance and interdependence in relation to people.

The service man who fixes little gadgets is not the only service man people have been yelling for these last years. Too many people have also yelled for a social service man—a man who would make the trains run on time. Huey Long was a super

service man. Every man a king; with a kingfish sitting on an overstuffed ballot box directing lots of service men to make the trains run on time. Huey's regime combined all of the more widespread American definitions of service: the One-Stop-Service of the American filling station which encourages the customer to sit fatly behind the wheel while one attendant puts in the gas, another tests the oil, a third sprays pale blue liquid to clear the windshield; the filling station's cultural equivalent, Service Clubs singing "Sweet Adeline"; and off-stage action by private guards like those who used to be known as service men at Ford's. But it is open to doubt as to whether that sort of service is perfect freedom.

If you are to be among the makers of tomorrow's revolution, you must know what is wrong with that kind of a service man. You can learn this, here; you can prepare yourselves for the combination of rights-and-duties which is perfect freedom in the political and economic sense, and acquire the view of man which is the spiritual background of freedom, here, because we are a family and this is our home.

Particularly during the 1920's, but all through my lifetime, lots of American families haven't had a home. They have had an address, where they, as individuals, have kept their things, and from which they have scattered to their various interests.

But family life does not have to be like that. Family life can include a deep, dangerous and long maturing love of a man and a woman in which the paradox of self-reliance and interdependence is most fully resolved, human dignity most fully apprehended; as yet, you are probably conscious of this only through a sustaining sense of quiet and security. A family can be a community in which people develop, exercise and enjoy qualities that will make them good citizens of the larger communities of which they are also members. As listeners and minor participants in the talk that goes round our table, you are beginning to enter the parry and thrust of discussion, learning to hold your own defending a point, learning to weigh what is told you, learning to admit error and misstatement, and to agree when some one else has set out a sounder view. This common experience can make our life a vehicle of justice, and understood in this intimate context, rights and duties become very human institutions. Based on early familiarity with justice in relation to anger, justice in relation to

wit, justice in relation to charm, your idea of justice in the broad world will be no inhumanly black-and-white Puritan view.

You will recognise, in justice, the order that makes freedom possible; and you will know that the reason why that order is never perfect is adequately explained in the Spanish proverb, "All men are as God made them, and sometimes worse."

Just because they—that is to say, you—are sometimes worse, you will never win your fight for freedom completely. But only because you have an idea of what a free man might be, can you have an object, a reason for taking part in the coming revolution. (Otherwise—do you remember the *Jungle Book* scene of Kaa's hunting, where bands of monkeys posture and strut and finger the things of the Lost City?)

When the time comes, what will your part be, I wonder. Will you live your lives on the forward edge of our tradition? Will you find the disturbing, radical new words that describe the world as it will be to the world as it is? Or will yours be the reactionary decisions that kill a tradition by holding tight to its past, by keeping it from moving until the time to move has run out? Will you exercise the power to govern, or will you fail, wilfully or placidly, to act until some one has taken the power to act away? My own time is evidence that in the tree of liberty, growth comes by fits and starts, through good seasons and bad seasons.

The liberties that are your heritage have been won, little by little, on the spot, in particular cases, by people who faced situations wholly comparable, in their time, to those that you will face in yours. Their human hands upheld the future. Our society has no other support.

Truth and Science in the University

HENRI HATZFELD

The liberal university (and though I speak of France I believe the same holds true of Switzerland) is bound up with an idea of truth which is the strangest, the most ambiguous and the most hopeless conceivable. Truth in the modern university is the infinite sum of all possible knowledge, it is a sort of addition whose total can never be added up and to which every thinker, every inventor and every explorer adds a new term. What is truth but a mystery which we try to clear up progressively, and whose confines continually recede with our progress? In order to know the truth, we must know a great many things, always more and more of them, although we understand perfectly well that, for all the effort we may make, we shall never manage to do away with the essential mystery that surrounds our consciousness.

Every new discovery disturbs the order which for better or worse man has succeeded in establishing in all his acquired knowledge, so that in the end he gives up conceiving a coherent idea of the order, of the cohesion of truth, or, more simply, of the world in which he lives. Every system is provisional; indeed a system at any one moment in human research is merely a way of arranging and expressing results temporarily acquired. Great theories, when they are more than experimental hypotheses, are never more than temporary means of expression, or systems of reference; the means by which today the mind expresses its tentative idea of order for objects which in themselves are no more than lifeless anarchy. So truth is in subjection to a universal relativism. Perhaps man has never yet been plunged into such doubt about the reality and the order of the world he lives in, has never had so incoherent an idea of truth. Modern man has no longer a conception of the world, or rather he has many contradictory and mutually destructive conceptions which leave him in the end a prey to a fundamental scepticism.

Further, since truth is an indefinite Unknown, man does not know his own place in the universe, nor yet how to set his own existence in relation to his research; in fact he makes a clear dis-

tinction between the two domains of private life—his own and that of other men—and his professional life. In the brief span of his life man loses the hope of doing more than explore a tiny part of this boundless domain, and by that act he gives up the attempt to know himself and to determine his own place in his field of research. He specialises, and turning his back on part of the world and on himself, he plunges into the undergrowth, thus deliberately losing touch with the world, with himself and with other seekers. The prevalent conception of truth is the cause of the disintegration of the university community and the human community. The seekers have no message for one another, they have nothing to say to the world, nor yet to themselves.

Truth or Veracity

In the end, man, feeling his impotence to define the concept of truth, falls back upon himself and defines the conditions of veracity. Since it is impossible to tell what truth is, he will rather define objective research. He will no longer concern himself with the truth of the object in itself, but only with the way in which the thinking subject may proceed. So he puts his trust in an infallible method, of which the Cartesian rules are the best example. His task is to escape from the subjectivity of the thinking subject. That will be declared true which is established by methods which leave no room for the particular personality of the researcher. He must abstract himself, he must be no more than an ideal observer.

There is no question here of leading an attack on a method which has given proofs of its value, but only of pointing out the illusion which has come about on this subject. Actually modern science bases all its dignity on its reliance on its methods. In the hope of escaping from subjectivity, of becoming 100% scientific, science tends to be no more than an intellectual monomania. It is afraid of not being methodical enough, or objective enough, and it takes refuge in disciplines which are as little suspect as possible, and so become pure technicalities. (We need only mention epigraphy or statistics.)

In this way modern science appears as sceptical about its ultimate ends as it is positive about its method. It knows nothing of the truth, it has no belief about it, and will not speak of it; but nobody can teach it anything about method.

Now we do not claim to have anything to say on method, only to remind the university that science cannot be defined in terms which are purely methodological. A science which on principle abandons the definition of its essential object, namely truth, is a science which has no longer the sense of its own *raison d'être*, which indeed is losing its soul.

Science and metaphysics

But then, you may say, we fall into metaphysics; for then science becomes tributary to a conception of truth which will thenceforward dominate it. We are aware of that danger. The modern university has had a thousand good reasons to look askance at metaphysics, and to refuse to allow any kind of metaphysics to lay its hand on science. It was right in desiring the liberation of science! But by concentrating too much on defining the conditions of this liberty, it actually imposed a new bondage, and a bondage which is very galling for the spirit. We must recognise that the rejection of all metaphysics is no less sterilising for science than the submission to the extravagances of philosophers and theologians. The predominance of metaphysics prevented science from advancing, but its absence prevents science from knowing its reasons for advance; so in spite of the method on which science prides itself, it advances in haphazard fashion, without knowing where it is going.

What can reconcile science and metaphysics? What conception of truth will be strong and rich enough to unify science and metaphysics, truth in research and truth in concept? On this question hangs the fate of the university.

The Christian conception of truth

The Apostle Paul writes in the Epistle to the Colossians: "It pleased the Father . . . having made peace through the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself . . . whether they be things in earth or things in heaven." We believe that in Christ all things are reconciled, including what we have called science and what we have called metaphysics. In other words we believe that only the Christian conception of truth is capable of uniting the two antinomian terms which we distinguished above.

But we must be precise in our use of terms. What do we mean by the Christian conception of truth?

Christ as the truth

Our misfortune as Christian students is that we have one conception of truth in our studies which has no connection with our religious conception of truth. There is a schism here in our life. But if truth for us is Christ, it is important that we should ask ourselves whether this faith has no consequences in the epistemological sphere. When Jesus says: "I am the truth", is He only speaking of religious truth? and are there other truths which have no relation to that truth? Or is there only one truth—the Christ, Jesus, the Word—which contains scientific truth as well? That is what we believe. Truth is Christ, that is to say, all things are ordained according to an order which is no less than the word of God. The unfathomable mystery which is truth is not final, it has not the last word; the world has really an objective order which does not depend upon our discoveries, our hypotheses or our means of expression. All theories aim at discovering this order. They prove mainly that before all scientific thought there is an existent, a preëxistent order. The uncertainty of the scholar in the face of what he does not yet know must not prevent him from recognising that what he does not know has already an order of its own, and that it is a divine order which will be revealed to him on the last day. And yet the mystery remains. But it is a mystery which has no other dimension than the separation which still exists between man and God. It depends on God to dispel the mystery; and hereafter science is a prophetic witness to that decisive light which will illumine all things on the last day.

For the moment it would be foolish to ignore the mystery. It is not possible to ascend naturally from phenomena to the *logos* which organised the world. This simple ascent from the world to the soul of the world by means of a universal dialectic in which the platonists and some people in the Middle Ages believed, is impossible. The world does not spontaneously reveal its spiritual order unbidden to the mind of man; faith alone can reveal it. And on this is built all the dignity of science, all its independence of metaphysic, since we admit that faith alone can believe in the spiritual order of the world, we must also admit that if man does not wish to act as an angel—which is as a beast—he must learn that his one way of understanding something of this world whose order faith reveals to him, is to work with his own methods, and his test tubes, and with all

possible application and seriousness. As we happen to be set here on earth, and as there is no heavenly ladder by which the earthly dialectician can reach the world of ideas, positive science, with all the labour it brings, all its self-distrust and poverty, is our only means of knowing here and now. The day will come when learning the multiplication table will no longer be necessary; but for the moment there is no knowledge save for those who learn it. All the ideologies in the world cannot change this.

But the word has become incarnate. We know the word because it is incarnate and by that alone. If it is vain to try, as the Gnostics did, to find by some means or other the *logos* in its transcendence, it is no less certain that the *logos* has come among us and is in that measure accessible to us. But that means it is indeed accessible; it is the same eternal word of God who is also this Jesus in His humiliation. They are not two separate things. The mystery of the incarnation is precisely that it is one and the same reality. He by Whom and in Whom "all things were created" and by Whom "all things consist", was made like us. He Who is shown us in the eighth chapter of the book of Proverbs working with God to order the universe, to arrange the heavens, give bounds to the sea, to lay the foundations of the earth, was made like us, a man among men, truly our brother, the son of man. This is what we see when the Gospel shows us Jesus Christ commanding the wind and the waves in the tempest on the lake: "Who is this," they asked, "that even the winds and the waves obey Him?"

Called to share in Christian truth

But even the coming of the *logos* among us would mean very little if He were not now calling us to share in Him, to live not in His way but *in* Him, not just like Him, but His very life. Such is the greatness of our calling as students. What is real in our lives is what we cannot see, but only believe; it is His life, His reality. We share with Him: all the treasures of wisdom and science which are hidden in Him, we are called to share and to consider as our treasures (Colossians 2: 3). It is clear that this total sharing in all the treasures of wisdom and science can only be given us in absolute fulness on the last day. It is then only that we shall see face to face, but from today onwards all that we do in order to know is a witness we make to ourselves and to

others that hereafter "we shall know as we have been known"; and that from today we have a share in that knowledge.

All human knowledge or science is in this sense the premise of what we shall know on the last day. So there can be no opposition between science and faith. And yet we cannot deny that for certain individuals and for certain periods there has been a conflict between science and faith. But such conflict can always be simply explained by the fact that science has tried to usurp the place of faith or vice versa. Science has wished to determine the last things which are of the domain of faith, or faith has wished to be what she is not, a scientific method. In the one case science has been too proud, and in the latter faith has been foolish. In these cases science and faith were neither of them in their proper place, they had lost their identity. But if science and faith can only remain what they ought to be, if they recognise that they are both surrounded by the mystery of God, which is Christ, they need not in their humility, fear each other. For they are from now onward reconciled in Christ.

Man as the source and end of knowledge

The second consequence of this is that we are called to participate in Christ with Him Who at the same time knows all things, and in Whom all things consist. There are these two elements in Christ; it is He Who speaks the truth, but He is also Himself all truth. He is both He Who knows and He in Whom are found all the treasures of knowledge. And again, our participation in Christ will only be made complete on the last day; but from now onwards our entire human condition, our vocation as students is illuminated by this twofold relation which unites Christ and truth. If we participate in Christ as students we also know that we maintain with truth this twofold relation. We recognise that in this world we are those who know, and also the central object of this knowledge; we are those who work at all scientific knowledge, and also the central object of all science; we are the source of all knowledge, and also the end of all knowledge on this earth. It is in this sense that we can take once again to ourselves the formula of ancient philosophy, "Man is the measure of all things." We do not mean to take it to ourselves in order that man may glorify himself. We can do so only because of Christ and because, after all, it is Christ Who is the measure of all things; but since He is the measure of all things, we who are

called to be in Him, become gradually more and more fully the measure of all things also.

Thus a coherent Christology modifies entirely the creative relationship between man and the world. Christ for us is the last Adam; that is to say, the one who inaugurates for us in His flesh a new form of humanity. It is this new form of humanity which henceforward gives direction, gives *intention* to the humanity which we still wear. There is nothing human which is not henceforth renewed by this new humanity. That is the important thing to notice here with regard to the problem of knowledge. Knowledge (and here we are speaking of scientific as well as of general knowledge) can no longer be defined as a pure and simple apprehension of reality by the mind which is as far as possible disindividualised and dehumanised. Just as Christ is both He Who speaks the truth and He Who is the truth, man must be one who in his effort to understand the world, does no more than reveal his own identity to himself. Knowledge for man is not merely knowledge of an object, but a discovery within that knowledge of the fundamental nature of man. By his knowledge man discovers not only the world, but himself as its king in Christ. Science is in the last analysis the self-revelation of man to himself, in so far as he is set down in Christ as lord of the created world.

Christianity, or rather the renewal of all things in Christ, involves a total conversion of epistemology no less than of ethics. Man discovers within his faith that he is not only a mind that knows, but that the knowledge of the world is for him an occasion of self-revelation in his essential relationship of sovereignty to the world. Intellectual work is a prophecy by which man proclaims his place in the world to be the first place. Science is already "the revealing of the sons of God" for which "the earnest expectation of the creation waiteth". By proclaiming the order of the world science is a response to God Who created that order; and when he makes that response man finds himself again in his true place, before God, the place of one who is responsible, who answers for the rest of creation, and who is also responsible for it.

The folly of a science without man

Science began by being anthropomorphic. It found its freedom when it escaped from the old theologies (and Christian theology in particular) to become rational, experimental and

objective. But the time has now come to remind science that it must also be anthropocentric in just the degree in which it is—whether it will or no, and whether it realises it or no—Christo-centric. But here we must be clear about the terms we are using. We repeat that we have no fault to find with scientific methods. But we must reaffirm that a science which systematically excludes man is as far from true science as a science which merely aims at flattering or serving human passions. Now, modern science as it is practised within the university excludes man because it desires no more knowledge of him than its method allows, and that is but the surroundings, the suburbs of the subject. It refuses to try to make its way farther in for fear of injuring its objectivity. But this refusal is not the result of modesty; it is simply a betrayal.

It is further curious to notice that for some years scientific thought has been tending towards a recognition of the illusion it cherished when it pretended to an exclusive objectivity. The philosophy of history and the philosophy of science here make a converging movement. The idol of scientific objectivity is threatened by the *savants* themselves. The crisis of relativity in modern physics, no less than the development of the phenomenology of history, converge at this point; it is folly to wish to build up a science without man. It is not too late for Christians to explain the profound reason for this evolution in scientific thought.

Before examining the consequences of such reflections, let us first think of their spiritual significance. The great drama of our day may be described as the consequence of the divorce that has taken place between the spiritual and temporal worlds, between the world of ideas and the world of technology, between the religious life and ordinary life in which man is in close conflict with the economics and the bondage of all human institutions. Civilisation is at bottom nothing but a means of expression; it expresses the fashion in which man has thought he could understand and control his destiny. For if man could control his destiny he could also solve the fundamental antinomies of his existence. He could there bring together what he found apart, unite what he found in opposition; he could make a coherent whole of the contradiction which is his life. Man is in search of the lost principle of his own unity. But however he may solve the problem, the moment comes when the antinomies he thought he had mastered become too strong, regain their supremacy, and

shatter the frail structure of unity he had devised—often at what cost! Civilisations crumble when the power which unified contraries yields to their pressure.

Christ as the lord of science

If we seek a principle of reconciliation, a keystone of the arch, a corner-stone, which makes possible the harmonious fitting together of these two worlds, a junction and a union of the two regions, temporal and spiritual, we must also realise that we must not accept any solution that offers. Marxist materialism is another way of solving the problem, and we cannot accept it. Nor do we accept the Thomist solution, the analogy of being and of sanctifying grace which tends to conceal the real problem, to minimise man's sinfulness, and make him forget his radical corruption. The true solution is to be found in a truly coherent conception of the reality of our life in Christ—or rather in Christ Himself. It is in Him we have been created, in Him we are saved. He is the perfect stature of our humanity. Nothing that is human has any meaning except when it is confronted with Him.

Do we believe this? Do we believe that it is possible to confront science with Jesus Christ of Whom the Apostle Paul said: He is the mystery “in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge”. Do we believe that Christ is the lord of science? Do we believe that when He says of Himself “I am the truth” it means the whole of truth, both scientific and religious; or do we believe that there are two kinds of truth, and that we are doomed never to understand the bond that unites them? In one word, do we believe that God desired “by Him to reconcile all things unto himself”, or have these words no meaning for us?

It is one of the weaknesses of reformed thought that it has set reason and faith in such violent opposition. It is not necessary to reconcile them as the Catholics want to do, but only to know that they are reconciled in Christ, as one group in the Middle Ages knew. *Fides quaerens intellectum*. At the heart of that faith which defines subjectively the dimensions of being “in Christ” as man is called to do hereafter, reason also has her place. Reason too serves the Master once she is converted. Every human life becomes a liturgy, a service of the Lord. And at the same time every act becomes a sacrament because it mani-

fests an action of God, because it simply renews an act of Christ. So man becomes again the image of God. And scientific study surrenders science and knowledge to God since God in Christ has already taken possession of them.

But how then, it may be asked, does one study mathematics, for example, as a Christian? Perhaps it is thought that the science of mathematics will become something quasi-religious; that by his equations the mathematician will draw as near to God as in prayer; that the scientist will discover a new way of working, a new scientific state of soul which is closer to prayer. . . . That is not the point at all. If science is subject to Christ, and if science depends on His royal command, that subjection and dependence will be not visible but believed. We walk by faith and not by sight. And just because we walk by faith alone we must never cease to witness to what we believe and to what men are still unable to see. Further, we must remember that in a kingdom there are not only capitals and prime ministers. The humblest mercenary also serves the king. If science is a service of Christ it is so not in the same way nor by the same right as preaching, for example. We do not intend to make of science some kind of pseudo-religious activity. Christ is Lord not only of the Church but also of the whole world. Science also is in His kingdom. It is important to leave it in the place which God has given it. We must not try to make God enter artificially into science in order to lend science a heightened dignity, or to make it more "Christian". God will not enter there by our orders, we may be sure; instead there will enter a false god whom we dare not call Christ and who will ruin science. Science is Christian only when it is truly science. But the scientific vocation is perhaps to be found in the joy which this calling brings, in spite of the hard work, and in the fulness we find there. For the mercenary can be as happy as the volunteer if he is conscious of being in his right place, and at his right task. The scientific vocation first recognises the bond which unites it to Christ. The humility of his function does not oppress him. The student who feels that his study keeps him far from Christ should ask himself if he has missed his way, if he is not called to some other place. But it is not science which has to be changed, it is himself. But may those who are called to be men of science learn with joy the true place assigned by God to their labour; may they not envy those whose

work is different; nor seek to modify their own work by pious artifices but rather do their duty unsparingly, humbly and gratefully.

Summary and conclusion

To sum up, and before we attempt to set out some of the practical consequences of what has been said:

a) There are not two different truths. Truth, of which science is the study, is comprehended in Christ; indeed, it *is* Christ in so far as He is the *logos* that was before the world.

b) In Christ knowledge is more than the apprehension of data by the mind: it is, in essence, the orientation of man with reference to the world and to God Who created him. Man discovers that he is himself the image and representative of God in the world, and is responsible for the world to God.

c) Man is at the centre of science both as one who knows and as the essence of what is to be known.

d) Scientific work is in its own place and according to God's will a service done to God and a sign for men of the perfect wisdom of God.

From these brief remarks we may draw certain conclusions concerning university life.

Erudition and real problems

In the first place it is impossible to consider science as a reality superior to man, which man might attain by a process of dehumanising himself. Man is lord of science: "All are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's" (I Corinthians 3: 23). Man must not be subject to science or to scientific method; on the contrary they must be subject to him. They are at his service to help him to find himself and to affirm his existence. For it is man that matters.

In consequence of this the exclusive concern with objectivity will not appear as the one criterion of true science. Understanding and judgment will be as important as learning. The modern conception of scientific impartiality is no truer than the idea of a science which seeks to provide slogans for the ideologies that face us. In France there are two kinds of historians. On the one hand the men of erudition who are conscientious and for

the most part unreadable; on the other hand charlatans who have sprung from the different political camps. A science which is indeed faithful will make an effort to reduce this antinomy from day to day. It will not expect ever to do it perfectly; but, while knowing that scientific study must be done sincerely and rigorously, it will also not forget that historical sincerity and rigour are but dust unless they serve the ends of history, which are to unfold to man his past in order to open his eyes to the future. Science must not forget that it is in the service of man. The means and methods which it uses cannot justify it; it can only be justified by its faithfulness to its function.

On the other hand the university will need to distrust erudition; for erudition is no longer admissible as the final word of all science. It has no justification unless it gives the student an opportunity to study the human questions which arise. But if it develops as an end in itself, without relation to a real problem, erudition becomes a dangerous mania. We have already suffered enough from that. We have suffered enough from the method of erudition which is even now the method of secondary education. It involves an *à priori* division of subjects, and a classification of material which goes on getting steadily more complicated, adding as it were compartment to compartment, so that the mind is no longer free. The important point is that man should ask his own questions. If, in order to answer them, he has to undertake such and such a piece of technical research, no one would refuse that. The important matter is that man should be free to ask questions and to develop his interrogations, instead of being a machine which swallows knowledge in doses carefully classified and labelled from the university pharmacy. One cannot but feel sympathy for the dismay of the young student of philosophy who expects to find an important truth for his whole life, and who, in the end, only discovers a series of arid and distinct disciplines from which he is invited to draw a few items of knowledge. The same thing is true throughout the university curriculum, in the faculty of theology as elsewhere. Let us cease to consider theological faculties as models of Christian faculties. (I apologise to my professors!) But do they suppose that we are content with this imprisonment inside faculties which are fixed once for all, without regard for the problems of the hour or for the questions which arise in one's mind? For there are current theological problems, current ecclesiastical problems, and there is a question

which at this moment the world is asking of the Church. Have we really tried to work these out together, or have we fortified ourselves inside our disciplines "in view of the examinations" . . .?

The creation of a university community

With the same breath we approach the problem of the university community. For it is vain to wish to create a community under present conditions. Erudition can only separate men. Only a human, or rather living, question can unite them. What do we mean by that? We mean that every epoch has its one appropriate method (or several methods) of approaching and attacking the reality of the world. We have to work like a man who is trying to prise out a rock, first attacking it with his pick, and then with an iron bar in front, behind and from the sides. For some time the living question was that of universals, and to go any further the human mind had to force its way through that passage. The quarrel between the ancients and the moderns was at one time a living question, and so was the opposition between science and faith. If we raise these questions again today then we are guilty of erudition, of waiting to embalm the dead while the living are waiting to live. Yet that is what the university spends its time doing with an infallible sureness of instinct for shutting its eyes to living questions. (Let us only mention the example of the university of France on the subject of phenomenology, for instance.) In this respect the natural sciences—*non sine causa*—are more fortunate than the human sciences. One can hardly imagine them reopening today the question of spontaneous generation.

When we speak of living questions we do not yield to any romantic fancies. We only say that the university's duty is in the first place to set forth the questions round which a generation of students naturally gathers, as in a place where it can best orientate its thinking and understand itself. This is how students recognise which are the good teachers; by the wisdom with which they bring out such questions with them and for them, and leave the dead ones to lie until a later day. Sometimes of course they need to be revived, *sometimes* at the right moment some past period must be evoked, or some man who has been asleep for ages called to the light. Racine may need to be left to sleep in peace, and Corneille called forth to the light (or—if you would rather—the author of *Les Châtiments* may need to be resurrected!).

About these questions, and in freedom of thought, the university community may indeed be recreated. With a single stroke it will reappear. We need not yield to the fashion of the day or to the enthusiasm of the hour; for while fashion *may* be the surface expression of a living question, it may also prevent its being heard. No: we have to learn what really counts today. That is what will unite teachers and students; and to create a university community in any other way is vain indeed. Why should a community exist in the very place one must avoid if one wants to think freely?

We are considering man, real man, man who is alive today—not “the man of all times and all countries” whom French classical theory conceived and to whom our university remained faithful. To be sure the university pretends to be humanist. It is in the name of humanism that in the French secondary schools six hours of Latin and six of Greek have persisted as against one of modern languages, thus making a Frenchman incapable of understanding anything about the world of his own generation, but able to quote in his old age some fragments of the Odes of Horace. For very shame we abstain from citing further examples.

Sufficient to say that today university curricula seem hardly likely to correspond any more closely to the problems which face modern man than did those worked out by mediaeval scholasticism. Man must be taken where he is in the actual tissue of his life. He must be the object of our study, and the end of our work. In these conditions alone can the university participate in the evolution of a true humanism instead of weaving garlands for the dead whom she would not acknowledge if they lived today. Then indeed the university may be a place where the community from which it sprang (generally the nation) can arrive at self-realisation. It will no longer be, in the modern Babel, a closed chamber for intellectual technicians, but a centre where the thought of a society is forged. It will no longer be content to train technicians; it will rediscover its responsibility for the training of an *élite*, it will realise that its own fate is bound up with that of the national and international community in which it is set. It will become conscious of itself as guardian of the spiritual values of the country. In a word the university will once more find its roots.

Three Watchwords

We shall conclude with three watchwords.

First of all, we must keep our idea in the back of our minds. We must not allow ourselves to be carried away by the mechanics of intellectual techniques in which we are asked to take part, but always be sure of the direction in which the research is carrying us: Is it only to collect information or is it to find the answer to some question? It is the aim of our studies far more than their method which gives them their direction.

Secondly, we must take corporate questions seriously, not be content to pass through the university but also take part in its life, revive its life. Not leave the professors without criticism, or remain passive under the instruction we receive. The apathy of students, their indifference to all possible reform, their incapacity to think out the problems of their student-life, is one of the causes of the disintegration of the university. What have *you* done to change this?

Finally, we must reflect on the place which the S.C.M. may take in this matter. You have an S.C.M. magazine? What does it deal with? With theology as the most captivating of intellectual pursuits or with university questions as is its duty? What are you doing in study groups? What contacts have you with your fellows? And if you are really prevented from working freely in the university setting, why do you not organise cells of work outside the curriculum where you may develop the questions which come up in your studies?

It is pointless to talk of the decadence or the renewal of the university if that is to be the end of the story. It is for the students to prove what they are capable of doing.

The Educational Aims of the Christian Colleges in China

A statement drafted in the U.S.A. by Dr. T. H. Greene of Princeton after a group discussion and adopted by the Planning Committee of the Associated Boards for the Christian Colleges in China. It is still a tentative document, since there has not been time to receive criticisms from the Colleges in China.

1. The Christian Colleges in China have a distinguished pioneering record. They were founded as *Christian schools and colleges*, primarily to teach the Gospel and to train leaders for the Christian movement in China. The large number of Christian men and women in positions of great responsibility in China today testifies to the success of this movement, and the colleges have contributed greatly to this success. The outstanding leadership of Christians from China in the life of the world Church is further testimony. The colleges were also founded to help China develop a system of *liberal education*, on the one hand, and *professional training*, on the other, and in these respects too they have been eminently successful. Their chief educational contribution has been their continuing concern for the student's total personality—for his body, his mind, and his character. This concern has commended itself to all Chinese who recognize that this ideal is fully in line with the traditional emphasis in Chinese education upon the importance of character as the goal of learning. From the outset, therefore, the colleges have sought to serve China as *Christian institutions of learning*.

2. After six years of agonising war, China's urgent needs provide the Christian Colleges today with a new and challenging opportunity for service. Her economic and industrial requirements are desperately urgent for the comprehensive programme of rebuilding China after the war. Her continuing effort, since 1912, to develop and strengthen her democratic way of life can be successful only as her citizens achieve a sense of individual responsibility and integrity. Her efforts to weld her gigantic population into a single national community call for discipline and education in national loyalty and sacrifice for the nation. But it is her determination to fulfil her responsibility not merely as a nation but also as a co-operative member of the world community of nations, for she envisages her role in history in international and not merely national

terms. For all these tasks China needs men and women not only of vocational competence but also of character and vision. The Christian Colleges, as *Christian institutions of learning*, have a vital contribution to make to these inter-related needs.

3. We are keenly aware of the many practical difficulties under which these Colleges must attempt, now and in the coming years, to fulfil their destiny. In order to hearten them in their work and to provide them with such assistance as lies within our power, we wish to remind them of their noble record, to share with them some of the lessons which we in the West have learned by a painful process of trial and error, and to redefine with them the nature and objectives of Christian education.

4. What is the distinctive contribution of Christianity to modern China? Our deepest conviction, as Christians, is that man cannot achieve, without God's help, that individual integrity and dignity, that brotherhood and community, which China is struggling to achieve in her great hour of need. We also believe that the God who has revealed Himself to man in Jesus Christ can do for man more than he can ask or think. We believe that man's greatest tragedy, today as always, is his failure to avail himself of this Divine Wisdom and Power for himself, for his community, and for the healing of the nations. The distinctive contribution of the Christian Colleges in China is *education in the spirit of the Christian Gospel*.

We hope and pray that the Christian Colleges in China will make the exemplification and communication of this Christian spirit their *central task*, and that they will combat the tendency towards secularisation to which many of our American colleges, Christian in origin and intent, have yielded. Our Colleges have too often allowed a purely secular approach to displace a Christian approach to the problems of body, mind, and character. The resultant harm to our students and to our democratic community is incalculable.

This central Christian emphasis should, we believe, express itself in the Christian Colleges in China in a number of ways. It should appear, first and foremost, in the lives of the Christian staff, and in that indefinable atmosphere of Christian fellowship that can permeate an entire campus when most of the members of the staff of the colleges are sincerely dedicated to Christ. It should express itself in Christian worship, in Sunday services and in week-day chapel services; in Christian instruction, not only in courses on religion but, whenever appropriate, in courses in every subject in the curriculum, so that students may be helped to make the proper synthesis between religion and other branches of knowledge; and, last but not least, in the many extra-curricular activities—social, athletic, and philanthropic—in which students can learn the bearing

of the Christian Gospel upon the daily lives and needs of their fellowmen.

We fully appreciate the many ways in which the Christian Colleges are today prevented from doing all they would like to do along these lines. But we would urge them to seize every opportunity now open to them to relate all truth to Christian truth, all human welfare to the true source and power of human life. And we would urge them particularly to make every effort to demonstrate to all concerned that they can make their greatest contribution to China's magnificent struggle by functioning as *Christian* Colleges and by revealing the impact of vital Christian faith upon every human problem in every walk of life.

5. What is the distinctive contribution of the Christian Colleges as *educational* institutions? It is, we still believe, the offering of both a liberal education that will enrich and deepen human experience, and a professional training that will enable the student to employ his vocational skills in a humane and liberal perspective.

Here again we would share with the Colleges in China the lessons of our mistakes. We have too often permitted liberal education in this country to become mere learning for learning's sake, forgetting that man is more than intellect and that education should nourish the entire personality and give its impress to all of human living. We have permitted our students to specialise in one branch of study too early and too exclusively, and we have allowed them to leave our liberal arts colleges pathetically one-sided in equipment and outlook. In much of our teaching in these colleges we have tended to emphasise individual facts rather than the methods and criteria of factual inquiry; and we have tended to impress upon our students our individual patterns of belief instead of teaching them how to make responsible judgments of their own. We have in some measure introduced them to their Western cultural heritage, but we have neglected for the most part to help them to understand and appreciate the riches of other cultures such as the Chinese. Above all, we have not made them sufficiently aware of the true relation of liberal studies to the practical problems of human life, to man's vocational skills, and to the many social tasks of local, national, and international co-operation.

In this period of educational advance in China the Christian Colleges have an unparalleled opportunity to help China benefit from our mistakes, thus developing a truly liberal system of education by a wise understanding of its real nature and purpose. This purpose, is, we believe, the training of young men and women for responsible citizenship in a free society. The education requisite to this end includes a discipline in the languages of human thought and com-

munication, in the methods of factual inquiry and responsible judgment, and in the achievement of historical, cultural, and philosophical perspective. Education, so conceived, will help to prepare the student to face life with a realistic recognition of fact and a dynamic idealism; it will lead him to respect the common task and the need for vocational training to perform his task efficiently; it will widen his horizon and help him always to relate means to ends, immediate loyalties to more ultimate loyalties, his own needs and those of his community to the needs and aspirations of all men throughout the world. It will, in short, promote his own integration as an individual and enable him to take his part in China's challenging task of national reconstruction and international co-operation.

We in the west have also tended to conceive of vocational training too narrowly. We have been blind to the dangers of professional skill divorced from liberal and humane objective. This failure is in a large measure the cause of our social unrest and of the cataclysm into which the whole world has now been plunged. As China develops her comprehensive program of vocational training, the Christian Colleges can make a major contribution by setting all vocational training in the context of human needs and spiritual ends. In emphasising the intimate relation in which professional competence should stand to the use to which such competence is put, of technical ability to moral character, they can do much to protect China from that spirit of ruthless exploitation of nature and man and from that blind worship of power which is causing the whole world such misery today. They can help China to avoid a misuse of science and technology and to develop her natural resources for the genuine welfare of her own people and of the peoples of other lands and nations.

In short, the Christian Colleges can render China an inestimable service by conceiving of liberal education in organic relation to professional pursuits and the business of human living, and by conceiving of vocational training in organic relation to the opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship in a free society. They can also help Christian Colleges in other lands, including America, by setting them an example and by providing them with guidance and inspiration.

6. Never in her long history has China had so challenging an opportunity to achieve her national destiny within the family of nations. Hence her desperate need for men and women dedicated to this ideal and equipped to perform the many urgent tasks of today and tomorrow. She needs young people who are technically trained in all the vital vocations and professions. She needs young people who are alive to China's own culture and who are also able to

understand and appreciate other cultures, western and eastern alike. She needs young people who are able to grasp the conditions and implications of responsible citizenship under law. She needs men and women who realise the value of individual initiative, of family loyalty, of national service, and of international co-operation—all in relation to one another. She needs leaders in every walk of life—not people who are striving for personal power and prestige, but true leaders who, so far as possible, combine technical proficiency, cultural appreciation, and social responsibility to China and to mankind. This challenge must be met in China by innumerable individuals and groups with whom the Christian Colleges will wish to co-operate to the utmost. The *distinctive* contribution of the Colleges, however, will depend upon the extent to which they can exemplify, in all they do and say, that Christian spirit which, both they and we believe, provides the answer to China's deepest needs. May they, in these days of weariness and anxiety, keep up "the good fight" with courage and confidence. Their cause is ours, and they may rest assured that we will make every effort to share their heavy load and to assist them in every way that lies within our power.

A FEDERATION VISITOR'S TRAVEL DIARY

I left Malmö on a September day by Swedish plane. We started magnificently from Bulltofta but had to return after a few minutes as fog was reported over Copenhagen and landing was forbidden. The fog seemed rather symbolical to us! After some hours of waiting, and one or two false starts, we made our real start, coming down in Copenhagen after fifteen minutes only to hasten to the orange-coloured Danish plane that was to take us farther. We had only time to catch a glimpse of the beautiful green copper roofs of the city and to meditate over a camouflaged plane just arrived from Berlin out of which rows of high military and civil officials stepped away to govern Denmark! After another trip of one and a half hours we came down at Tempelhof, catching at the same time the first view of heavy bombing damage.

My stay in Berlin was only for the afternoon and I had just time to visit a friend who was just on the point of evacuation. I could very well see why they had to evacuate; not five metres in front of their door was a bomb-crater, seven and a half metres deep. Czech workers were repairing the damage but the smell was still awful from all the broken pipes. I had to be at the train nearly two hours before it started, in order to have any chance of a seat on the night journey. The departure from Berlin in the twilight was terrible, as for almost half an hour we passed through completely destroyed districts. In Steglitz and Lichtenfelde there were not odd houses bombed, but odd houses standing. And the sight of a single villa with light from its windows, flowers on the balcony and washing in the back yard, still standing in a totally bombed quarter made the whole experience still more macabre.

I had dreaded the long journey through the night in the crowded train, but afterwards I was quite glad to have been compelled to make it, as I had better possibilities than way of see-

ing something of the people. My strongest impression was of their everlasting friendliness towards one another, and especially to the soldiers and to me. The whole spirit in the compartment was of such an excellent fellowship that I felt it quite natural to offer them my box of chocolates. They were amazed; "This must come from the peace," they said. A lady in the train, going down to Bavaria to find some place of evacuation for her boys, asked me, "You're going to Switzerland to make peace for us, aren't you?" One felt the question lying on many lips those days. I saw nothing whatever of the much talked of irritation and discourtesy, but a Swiss business man with whom I crossed the frontier told me that the atmosphere had been completely changed within the very last days—after Mussolini had been recaptured. All the people in the trains were reading the reports on that fantastic adventure. It seemed to tell them: unbelievable things still happen, after all—so others may happen!

Arrival in Switzerland

This was my first visit to Switzerland, but you will perhaps understand me if I say that at once after entering the country I felt much more at home there than in Germany where I have been several times before. To enter Switzerland was somehow to emerge from the passage through a very long and very dark and smoky tunnel, and the experience made a tremendous impression upon me. The absolute contrast between the misery, the greyness and the suffering of a country at war and the quiet luxury and superfluity of a neutral country forms somehow the strongest impression from my whole journey.

The very first evening I was given a neatly typed and composed program, containing at first visits to the office, and to our various Federation friends, and then later on mostly of various meetings. And so I jumped headlong into the enchantment of seeing old friends again and making a lot of new and wonderful acquaintances. I had not imagined before that it could be possible to feel so completely at home in those quite new surroundings and to feel so happy and at ease with mostly new people, but it is no exaggeration if I say that after my return I felt quite home-sick for Geneva and that I have left quite a considerable part of myself

down there, so after this experience I think I can understand much better what it must mean to you to be cut off from all those friends.

As I have written for years to 13 rue Calvin, it was wonderful at last to enter it! I liked it ever so much and was quite impressed by the boiling student relief activity in that old building! They had a tea where I talked to all the office and I liked that very much. They were so nice, all of them. But all those who had been there for a longer time told me how they missed their friends outside, and how they all envied me deeply my extra-European contacts. One day we had a Federation meeting. I did not feel it to be a very great meeting but at least we achieved a rather good survey of the situation in certain European countries. Then we tried to start on the contact problems between belligerent, occupied and neutral countries, especially as they are actualised in the relations between refugees and "host-peoples", e.g., French people in Switzerland and Norwegians in Sweden. There was also some discussion about plans for a new Ecumenical Week in January or February and here perhaps the whole discussion lost itself. . . .

The difficulty of being "spared"

At last I think I should add some general impressions. During the first days of my stay all walls were covered with large yellow posters. They ran: Suisses! Epargnés! I think I could say that my deepest impression of the journey is contained in those words, if I may add: Suisses et Suédois!—Epargnés! Small concrete experiences during the railway journey stand out as well as my encounter with friends in Geneva, and with French refugee students. I think of the visit to a "camp d'accueil" close to Geneva with 150 Jewish refugees just arrived from France, sallow and haggard and torn; of my deeper knowledge of the work of the European Student Relief Fund and the great tasks that are still developing, only on too large a scale, really, to be dealt with effectively. All these impressions are part of, and spread lightly over, this main experience: what it means to be saved, to be épargné, what responsibilities it brings, what problems it raises for personal contact of today and for living together once more in a world of peace. To me these problems have become acute and

burning and I have found myself steadily speaking and writing on them after my return.

Switzerland feels itself more isolated than Sweden does; and of course it is, as we have that way out to the west which they envy so much. Perhaps it is a little bit easier to see something of world-scale perspectives from here than from Switzerland. That may also depend upon the difference between the Swedish tradition developed in the last century of growing contact with countries overseas, commercially and culturally, and the Swiss continental point of view. Yet in a certain way you feel more within the events going on in the world, when you are in Switzerland. We have land frontiers only to Norway and Finland, to our closely related neighbours, they to Germany and Italy and France.

But in many aspects there is in both countries the same extreme danger of just sitting down quietly to look at the drama outside, to try to make one's own way of living as comfortable and undisturbed as possible under the circumstances. And one has the feeling that the broad masses of the people, and also of students, may perhaps be not too difficult to move to certain actions for the victims of the war; but on the whole, and in their everyday life, they are just getting on, completely forgetting what is happening outside their doors. The refugees can waken up their hosts for a moment, but their position is extremely delicate and difficult and irritation from both sides is never far away. A discussion in Geneva, where all present were of French nationality, save myself, aired a very deep-grown irritation towards the Swiss hosts who were accused of being bureaucratic, bourgeois and insensitive. They illustrated their accusations with lots of details and I felt they were somehow right until suddenly I realised that I had heard all of this before! The Norwegians in Sweden think quite the same about us and I had to try to explain something of how we feel about it. It is all extremely difficult, and it is only a sign in advance of the problems we have to expect for the future. What is your feeling in England and U.S.A. about these problems? It must be very different for those who are refugees in belligerent countries.

I have come to see our part in the tasks of the Student Relief too in this perspective. More and more I think the main thing

about it is the act of student solidarity. It is our only way of entering at least to some little extent into the world-wide community of those who suffer and make sacrifices. After the war I feel that only those who have been within that community, in some way or other, will be given the right to talk and to work.

Problems of the future

But the problems remain. I recall meeting a German student who had been in the army since he left school five years ago, and who, after being at the eastern front during the whole Russian war, is now wounded and in hospital for a few months, and hearing him talk about his most pressing experience: having to lead boys of seventeen towards death. I think of my discussion with a young theologian, who is doing dangerous work in keeping contacts between his country and the outside world. After such experiences I am none too optimistic of our possibilities of understanding one another when we meet again. Look at the contrast between two European students. One has been through the experiences I have described, has led that life in occupied or belligerent countries which is somehow reduced to the extremities, caring for the material minimum and fighting for the liberty and future of the nation. Another has just been able to continue his studies at his university town, retaining a bourgeois life with all its nuances—and very little of the extremities!—and even if he has had shorter interruptions for military service or other kinds of national work. These two individuals will need different interpretations of the Gospel. Out of this contrast are rising difficult problems and vast issues for the Federation.

B.

THE EDITOR'S TRAVEL DIARY

The Wooster Planning Conference

It was good to end the old year and begin the new at a student missionary conference, to realise that, whatever might or might not happen in 1944, the Christian Church had its orders and its assignment. There were about five hundred of us, four hundred being students from the United States and Canada, with fifty representatives from Asiatic, African, European, and Latin American countries. It was a serious and hard working meeting, for we did not forget world events. We were conscious that we were truly acting in a representative capacity for many who were otherwise occupied, and who in many cases had reached the missionary frontiers before us in an unexpected service. But we were not a remnant; a far larger number of equally fine delegates could have been secured from the depleted, but by no means exhausted, student field of North America. Wooster was not a stop-gap; it was a step forward. The fact that the influenza epidemic mowed down the ranks of speakers was not wholly disadvantageous! We missed some leadership, especially that of Edwin Espy who had been chief architect, but we gained in spontaneity and coherence as each day was planned as it came, and Winburn Thomas, the new S.V.M. secretary, used all his experience with students in Japan to give definiteness and simplicity to our programme.

My first impression is of community, a sense of belonging to a company of men and women of all races and nations. Clearly that was the result of an extremely well-mixed representation of Canadian and American students, and of the excellent foreign delegations. We rose to welcome our guests when they were marshalled on the platform, but, and this was an unusual feature, they rose for a moment in silence at the bidding of one of their number, in token of gratitude for what North American Christians had done in their countries. The result of this sense of being lifted

into fellowship made its way down into the inter-racial problems of the United States, and many new friendships and resolutions were made. A wide variety of student groups were represented, and in some measure this emphasis on community expressed the sense of frustration of the students at their failure to achieve unity on their own campuses. I had the feeling, yes, and the hope, that a fire was lit at Wooster which might burn up some unnecessary prejudices and hesitations before the American universities are filled again with men and women who will be impatient with our failure to be one.

A fresh sense of commitment

The second impression was of vocation. Groups on this topic were an innovation in a North American quadrennial. An educational system which takes pride in vocational guidance may easily miss the point of Christian vocation. American students take their future careers seriously and often ask where their gifts may be best used in the service of mankind. But here was a new note which suggested that their gifts and training were not so important as themselves. Christian vocation is the calling of the whole man into the service of God, and it is not finally conditioned by the scope and suitability of a career. Thirdly, there was a moving spirit of humility in the whole meeting. Let students elsewhere dismiss from their minds the fear that the best elements in the student life of North America are thoughtlessly setting out to reconstruct the world. At Wooster there was a realisation of human suffering and estrangement, and of the complexities of human affairs. Out of that realisation students were asking whether there might be some part they could play, along with others, and learning from others, in the building of a better world.

Community, vocation, and humility are not all that is required for the task of rebuilding the world. There were some who felt that our analysis was too shallow. It did not go very deep. We need badly more consecrated study and understanding of the social and political revolution of our day. But the students of North America are beginning to find a clear lead in the Gospel, and who will stop them? What is needed is a sound united plan for the study of the Bible, upon which a Christian approach to wider ques-

tions can be based. Is it too much to hope that the impetus of Wooster will bring this about, while the time is ripe, and the mood is on?

Southward Bound

One night in Toronto and I was off for South America. Miami no longer felt like a rich man's resort, but like one of the main entries from America into the war zone. I remembered the passenger who found himself by accident in North Africa instead of Washington, and decided to make very sure that my plane was properly labelled! Surprisingly it turned out to be the famous China Clipper, now spending its old age crossing the Caribbean instead of the Pacific. As I looked at the notices in Chinese, instructing me not to smoke, I wondered if T. Z. Koo had once tried to sleep in my most unyielding seat. Out we stepped at Cristobal to meet the heat, and the waiting in line, and the indefiniteness of arrangements, which the tropics seem to provide. Once again I was forcibly reminded of Port Said; canals and international crossroads seem to attract similar populations in East and West. The Indian shops with wares from every corner of the globe, and the stores, which contained the goods you could no longer find in London or New York, made the streets seem like some paradise of a black market. We crossed to Balboa in the train past those steamy jungles and lakes with dead trees sticking up all over them, which must be depressing to the American boys who guard this life-line. There they were in their immaculately ironed shirts, and creased pants; and in the clipper had come a group of gallant cheery professional entertainers to make them forget where they were!

After a night in the International Hotel, newly erected in the North American manner with a French flair of which the proprietor was justly proud, I was off again for Colombia. When the shutters in the windows were removed we were sweeping over green water and darker green forests and soon we landed by the Pacific Ocean on a little strip of grass behind the sand, and I was paying my first visit to Colombia. The flight over the foothills and up the mountain valley to Cali was very beautiful. Especially I liked when we flew over the green tops of the lower mountains

and saw the tracks and villages like a map which children had made at school, even to the cows and horses and tiny human beings. Cali is 8,000 feet up, and there was a welcome Alpine feeling in the air. It was Sunday with everyone out for a promenade. I stood with my back to the parapet of the bridge over the mountain river, and thought how inadequate a town is without somewhere the sound of running water. A Franciscan Church of lovely rough red brick with blue pottery jars on its terrace invited me to enter and say a brief Sunday prayer, and I knew that I had passed into that other civilisation, which we name so inadequately Latin American.

From Cali we flew with one or two halts to refuel direct to Lima. Mountain and sand and great spaces of the sea made our silver plane seem so small and alone. There seemed no reason why men should live below us, and the occasional cluster of huts, or the straight lines of a Spanish city seemed to have been built by heroic men. At one of the little airports a Dutch fellow passenger said "I suppose someone is at home here," and we realised that most people don't travel. Travel by air gives one a queer sense of detachment. Why should one come down at any particular place, or even at all? How slowly the ground passed beneath us, and yet how remote it seemed. I found myself acquiring a certain hostility to terra firma, and yet I was very glad to walk on it again!

The City of the Kings

Lima was gay with flowers and flowering trees. Little dark men in wide straw hats were grubbing in the corners of the parks, and coaxing water with tins and tubes out of ponds to produce the most marvellous results. The Cathedral was getting a new white face upon it, and its earthquake cracks were at the least being covered up, perhaps mended, who knows? Street cars hooted and clanged down the ancient streets of the Orphans, and the Sword-makers, and the Divorced Women, and the Jews and the Ten Commandments. I learned to be nimble on my feet again to save my life and to mingle with the good nature and sadness of the crowds. I was glad I had begun my trip this time with the City of the Kings, the capital of Spanish South America. I

drifted down back streets and in and out of churches, revelling in the colonial days which are still so evident.

Later I visited two museums side by side in the same afternoon. The first is the creation of that great antiquarian Dr. Tello, whose wise Indian face and clear and restrained English sentences made him an admirable guide. The beauty in form and colour of fabrics and pottery centuries old spoke to us of peoples about whom almost everything is yet to be discovered, but who were once the Peruvians. Next door we passed into the cumbersome civilisation of the early nineteenth century. Bolivar and San Martin looked down at us from the walls, and independence was written over every campaigning bedstead and horsehair sofa. Is there something illusory about all national freedom? Does it ever turn out what it was supposed to be? To the Indian tribes in the Sierra such freedom means little, and the past glories of Indian races still less. To the men and women of mixed race who thronged the streets political independence had not really meant freedom from mediaeval Spain in the reality or shadow of its religion. And the minority in the hotel lounge seemed to have exchanged a colonial inheritance for membership in the international bourgeoisie.

Trujillo in the North

I remembered that a capital city is never a country and determined to go farther afield. My plans would not allow of my visiting the Sierra, the high places of the Andes, or the Montaña, the jungles of the headwaters of the Amazon. I had to be content with a few days in two provincial cities, which were also university centres—Trujillo to the north, and Arequipa to the south, paradoxical centres of freedom and dogmatism.

To Trujillo I set off in a bus at 6.30 a.m. with my never-failing guide, philosopher and friend, Neil Mackay of the Colegio Anglo-Peruano. Aching in every limb but in good spirits we rolled into the city twelve hours later. The journey of four hundred miles was along the Pan-American Highway, at this point an excellent road. Our lunch in a little town en route was taken in the Restaurant panamericano, but the fact of being a stopping place on an inter-continental route had not affected the

character of the people or the service. If you wanted an egg, you were shown it in the shell as evidence before cooking, a refinement seldom possible now in a London restaurant! But I contented myself with one of those excellent Peruvian soups, which contain almost everything served hot, and are most sustaining.

The road ran by the sea, or along cliffs, or swung away inland to climb over a spur of the mountains. Around us was the most formidable landscape of pitiless naked rock and stone, covered at times by sweeping fields of sand, which seemed to climb the hills as if to bury them. We passed an ancient Indian fortress still guarding a ford with its crumbling walls. One marvelled at the conquistadores in their suits of mail subduing this countryside—an expedition strangely paralleled by the Libyan campaign. At infrequent intervals we crossed a river-bed, and sometimes a river. I was told of the answer of a native to a traveller who asked for the river: "The river is busy elsewhere." And very busy these rivers were, spreading out into trickles wherever water could run like a child's city in the sand, in order that green things might grow. And grow they did, luxuriously so that whenever we crossed that most definite of all lines between desert and cultivation a wave of coolness and of smell of vegetation rushed through the open windows of the bus.

There were many signs in Trujillo of a recent eucharistic congress, including the whitewashing of the cathedral, which the inhabitants regretted, and I had a feeling of having come into a stronghold of the Church. Probably that was largely due to the atmosphere of a small cathedral city and the presence of churches and convents at every turn of the narrow streets. I learnt later to doubt the external evidences of piety. On Sunday morning we had the experience of visiting for a few minutes a Salvation Army Sunday School, and then of standing at the rear of the cathedral during the close of mass while a string quartet in the gallery above the west door played haunting music. From the bare room, with the sound of the smithy through the adobe walls, of a despised and often persecuted sect, which did not dare place its sign in the streets, we passed into the proud and moving dignity of the Church of Rome. Where did the Spirit, which bloweth where it listeth, reside? Certainly it rested in the heart of that

Evangelical woman with her kind and spiritual face, as she welcomed us so graciously to her little room behind the school; certainly it was present in that great act of the offering of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Yet something is wrong when a Church passes over her own grave sins and failure to anathematise a few thousand folk who have found the light in the sacred Book rather than in an elaborate ceremonial to which they could give no content; and something is wrong when Protestants are so divided upon the side issues of the faith that they cannot make the great contribution of the Reformation, but all too often reflect the bigotry with which the officials of the Church meet them. It was therefore almost a relief to make contact next day with an entirely secular university, with twelve hundred students from all the northern parts of Peru, which had, surprisingly through one man, caught the habit of a North American school and was building up pride in an Alma Mater. In the street we met a youthful Father in his robes who was the spiritual adviser of a growing group of students, and was conscious of his relationship to Pax Romana, and talked of Protestant and Roman Catholic co-operation in Chinese student relief. But beyond that group were the great majority who cared for none of these things.

Arequipa in the South

Arequipa came at the end of my visit to Peru. While Trujillo was only a few miles from the sea, and scarcely above it, Arequipa was on the "eyebrow of Peru" 8,000 feet above the sea and under the great bulk of El Misti, towering into the snows at 19,250 feet. This was a city I had visited by accident for a night in 1941 and to which I had pledged myself to return. The new hotel is at the top of the climbing city, and from its entrance you look over spires and towers to the clear-cut mountains of the coastal range, while the sound of church bells falls almost constantly upon your ear. From the back of the hotel you look up through the most charming garden, like an English cottage garden if it were not for cactuses among the carnations and eucalyptus trees above the geraniums, and your eye travels beyond the irrigation channel to the rose-coloured desert slopes with a boy bringing down his

sheep, or a horseman rounding up his horses, to the slopes of the great mountains. Beside you an Indian woman in red skirt and shawl and straw hat is pulling grass with her hands and then swinging it with her baby in a piece of stained cloth over her shoulders, and two men are quietly chatting with their elbows on the back of a patient donkey which stands unconcerned between them.

Down in the city a brisk tramcar clangs past a saddle-horse standing untethered outside a doorway waiting for its master, and a passer-by helps an Indian porter to lift his staggering burden on to his shoulders. Through the doorway you see a patio with some flowers, perhaps a palm tree, and often an ancient inscription or piece of carving. For this is a very Spanish city, four hundred years old, and resisting change in its outward appearance. The Plaza de Armas lies slanting in the sun with a great cathedral along its upper side, flanked by towers and arches. The volcanic stone of the district makes it a white city and the great white church is a very noble building. Round windows in the roof cast shafts of light down upon the scattered worshippers at their prayers.

But it would be false to conclude that this is a holy city; men talk of the Marxist views of its workers, good workers in leather and stone and iron. The hold of the Church is more spectacular than real. Curiously enough I sat in a trim Evangelical bookshop and looked up at the vaulted ceiling, on which a mitre and the keys of the kingdom were embossed, for this had been an Archbishop's chapel! One longed that the Church would entrust some of its power, not accidentally but in reality, to the appeal of the Gospel. Then I was rebuked for my criticism by a visit to the beautiful school of the brothers of La Salle with a sense of grace and peace within its walls.

Peruvian students

The reader will think I have talked enough about things in general and should come quickly to the point about students. To be honest, the students were on vacation, and the contacts of the W.S.C.F. with them are very slender! Perhaps some of my ramblings may have shown why it is difficult to build up a relig-

ious organisation amongst them. Protestant students are few and far between, and social distinctions make it very difficult for them to exert any influence upon their fellows. I met representatives of a number of groups of students, some active in Catholic Action, some scholarly and indifferent to religion, some politically alive, and some bravely trying to give what they would call a Protestant witness. All the students, and ex-students I met, were invariably friendly and open-hearted to a stranger, but at once in conversation came out the ignorance and distrust of one another's milieus. Religion is not a uniting but a sundering influence. The frankest comment was from a student of engineering: "Religion in Peru just seems to produce guys like me who are indifferent, or fanatics."

The social and political background of student life scarcely gives any movement amongst students a chance. In Peru the average student hopes not too confidently his funds will see him through college, and that his degree will get him a job. But he has no trust in his surroundings; he is an individual fighting for his own hand. The war has meant prosperity for some in his country, but not for him. He does not see that it will change things much. His sympathies are with the United Nations but they are far away and do not seem to include him in their promised post-war benefits. The structure of society is rigid, or apparently so; at least its imperfections are not acknowledged and cannot be discussed. And religion does not seem to be a hopeful factor. Too often he has with good reason rejected its manifestations, and it seems to hold no further possibilities. I found both genuine Catholic devotion combined with utter social conservatism, and suppressed political enthusiasm wholly disillusioned about religion.

Yet I am not such a fool as to despair of the situation in Peru, so far as the W.S.C.F. is concerned. This may not be the time to organise, but it is certainly the time to cultivate. In my notebook are the names of individuals who are anxious for contact with the religious movements of students outside Peru, and of groups which sporadically or continuously, directly or indirectly, are doing the kind of things an S.C.M. does. It is our part now to keep in touch with them and help them all we can. My own mind has been immensely enriched by contact with students and

older people of an exceptionally wide range of interest, though few in number. I shall not forget a long conversation in a park with a young Peruvian pastor from the Sierra, several illuminating talks with Y.M.C.A. friends, a clandestine meeting by night with a sincere and inspiring political leader, the friendly courtesy of young Catholics to whom I bore introductions, and the cordial greetings of Evangelical brethren, who were so patient with me as a globe-trotting, hotel-staying caricature of a Christian. The South American peoples are past masters at receiving strangers, if not angels, unawares!

Peru is a very beautiful country (and I was never in the high mountains!) but it is a sad country. It has been Christian in name for four hundred years; yet it still awaits that freedom, religious at its heart but social and political in its implications, which has its only source in the Holy Spirit. The day will surely come when students of Peru through a Student Christian Movement will be able to play their part in that awakening. As we shall see in the next instalment, this is already happening in some other countries of the great southern continent.

R. C. M.

BOOK REVIEWS

CHRISTIAN COUNTER-ATTACK. By Hugh Martin, Douglas Newton, H. M. Waddams, R. R. Williams. 6/-.

NO OTHER GOSPEL. By J. O. Cobham, A. G. Hebert, F. Hildebrandt, N. Micklem, A. R. Vidler, R. R. Williams. *Student Christian Movement Press, London.* 2/-.

These two short volumes both tell the great story of Christian resistance on the continent of Europe, but they tell it from different angles. The setting of the first is political, and of the second confessional. It seems to us very important to keep this distinction clear. The courageous witness of our fellow-Christians can be used to illustrate a point we want to make; that is the danger of the first book. But the same witness can also be so studied as to make us feel very uncomfortable about our own Christianity; and that is the admirable result of the second book.

To be fair to *Christian Counter-attack* we hasten to say that it is an excellent summary of the most important information on the Church struggle. It has the great merit of including the story of Roman Catholic resistance along with that of the Protestant churches. For that reason alone the reviewer would be grateful. The defect of the book is declared in its sub-title *Europe's Churches against Nazism*. That is too limited a frame for so complex a picture. The resistance of the Church is both deeper and wider, and by describing it simply in the anti-Nazi category much of its inner meaning is missed.

Two particular criticisms might here be offered. Firstly, why is there a tendency to make Protestant resistance in Germany and France seem inferior to Catholic resistance? If we are to deal with the political bearing of action in the churches, we must deal with all the facts. Admitting the greater gullibility of Protestants in certain situations, why cover up the equivocal position of Catholics? The ridiculously mild rebuke to Fr. Tiso of Slovakia (p. 54), and the unconscious irony of quoting a British ambassador to Spain on the common stand of Catholics and Protestants (p. 17) look strange beside the very proper emphasis upon divisions within the Protestant forces in Germany. Is it right to suggest that Catholics in France took a quicker and firmer stand than Protestants after the armistice? Surely the confusion in the ranks of Catholics,

caused by Marshal Pétain's emphasis on a spiritual France went deeper than is suggested on p. 96. The reviewer's experience in France in June and July 1940 would not bear out the suggestion on p. 102 that it took Karl Barth's letter to open the eyes of Protestants. We raise these points, not out of a spirit of contention, but to show how unfortunate it is to begin assessing the political effectiveness of Christian resistance, particularly at this date.

Secondly, the limited framework of this account necessitates the overlooking, or minimising, of certain areas of resistance. The patronising paragraphs on Finland might well have been omitted. Unfortunately Christian resistance in Finland does not conform to the pattern of this book. For the same reason there can be no mention of the identical phenomenon in the Baltic countries. A revealing comment on p. 118 is upon the close alliance in fellowship between the Churches of Finland and Norway. Christian resistance refuses to be bound by political categories.

No Other Gospel goes to the root of the matter, and fastens upon the rediscovery of faith, and the courageous affirmation of faith in the face of forces that challenge it, as the significant characteristic of Christian resistance. The opening address by Gabriel Hebert on *The Gospel of God*, and the closing one by Alec Vidler on *The Church in England and —?* provide a true setting for the lessons of resistance. The only ultimate test of the magnificent opposition to Nazism is whether the Christian churches, not only in Europe, have rediscovered the faith by which men may live courageously and creatively in a world freed from Nazism but beset by other temptations to destruction which may be more insidious, because they are less blatant.

R. C. M.

HERITAGE AND DESTINY. By John A. Mackay. *Student Christian Movement Press, 1943.* 3/-.

A PREFACE TO CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY. By John A. Mackay. *Nisbet and Co. Ltd., London, 1943.* 7/6.

We are privileged in having two books so lately from the pen of President John Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary, both so particularly addressed to the needs and questions of our time, and so likely to appeal to readers on both sides of the Atlantic. The *Preface to Christian Theology* is explicitly written "for the ordinary intelligent reader, both clerical and lay," while the more recently published *Heritage and Destiny* is addressed primarily to American students, and seems peculiarly adapted to Student Christian Movement libraries and study groups.

The first words of the latter book catch the imagination: "The road to tomorrow leads through yesterday." The writer points out how men and peoples are looking in troublous days to their own national and cultural past for some guidance in the future, and reminds us that Christianity also points back to yesterday. "The most sacred command in the Bible reads: 'This do in remembrance of me.'"

We are taken back to the early history of Israel, that people in whose national life "the twin sense of heritage and destiny" played a pre-eminent part, and discover that in the life story of the Hebrew race is portrayed the truth that the destiny of a people, or a person, is determined by the "attitude they take up to God and His purpose." Thence, from the "dawn of the day of the individual" which comes with Christ, we trace the development of the idea of man and his destiny, through the Middle Ages, and up to modern times with their diverse theories of nationhood. As we look at the modern world we are faced with the question: where in our present situation are we to look for renewal? It becomes clear that we can only answer this question in terms of the Christian revelation; further, "no system of ethics can be fully Christian that leaves out of account the possibility of a nation's special relationship to God".

Dr. Mackay's appeal to students (and how aptly it comes to other students beside those of America!) is to turn once more to their own national heritage, and, studying it in the light of what they have learnt about God's ways with men, to find what place He is calling them to fill in the world of the 20th century. It seems however as if Dr. Mackay had a special message to the students he is more particularly addressing in this book, in that he has here provided a new and living link between the world of the Old and New Testaments and the world of today. If the Christian student of America has been somewhat slower than some of his fellows in other lands to turn back to the Bible for new impetus and new understanding of his faith, it is because the visible needs and problems of society, as they press urgently upon his eager sympathies, have engrossed his attention, while the inexorable burden of war has not yet fallen so cruelly upon him as on some others. It is at this very point that our author approaches his subject, and if he carries his hearers with him, it will be no far cry from the destiny of the United States of America to that deeper search for the source of Christian assurance in the books of the Bible.

A Preface to Christian Theology is already known to many readers. In the words of Professor John Baillie of Edinburgh University who writes the Introduction to the British edition, the author "gathers up many of the most promising new lines of

approach to the theological problem which have lately been opened up . . . first making them very much his own"; by letting his imagination play upon them, and by setting them against the background of a peculiarly rich experience of the world.

In a striking opening passage the Road to Emmaus is taken as a picture and symbol of "the road of our time"; and man is seen, in "a mood of quiet desperation" seeking once more for the meaning of life. Theology's new task Dr. Mackay sees as that "of restoring the foundations upon which all true life and thought are built."

But not only is Theology a crucial need of our time. The angle from which man is helped to begin his search is of immense importance; and Dr. Mackay describes the two alternative angles which are possible by the metaphor of the "balcony" and the "road". The former is found to be the angle of many great philosophies, but we are shown that the latter is the only one possible for the Christian. This metaphor provides a framework for the entire argument of the book, the greater part of which is devoted to man's pilgrim way along his road of quest, as he seeks and finds God in nature, in the biblical view of history, in culture, and finally and inescapably in his own personal encounter with Jesus Christ and the Cross. Here alone he finds meaning for his life, and spiritual freedom.

But individual freedom is not enough. "Goodness must be corporate as well as individual." Brotherhood is the great human ideal, and in its noblest expression it is "brotherhood by supernatural grace", only to be found within the Church of Christ. In his closing pages Dr. Mackay outlines the task of the Church in this time—a threefold task, prophetic, regenerative, and communal. "The Church knows that in God's world might will not permanently triumph. She knows that Jesus Christ is Lord, and that a will to fellowship, and not a will to power, shall ultimately prevail. To make that will prevail, the life and thought of the Christian Church are dedicated."

No brief review can do justice to these two books, the value of which is incommensurate with their small compass. President Mackay has been well known to some generations of Student Christian Movements as the author of *The Other Spanish Christ*—a book which, though twelve years out of date, has in many respects a startling relevance to the present situation. And to those who have followed his utterances and writings he is one of the great teachers and preachers of the Christian Church today. The present reviewer confesses to the sense, on laying down each of these books, of having just listened to a great sermon, and of having caught something of the deep conviction, joy and assurance of one who has much to pass on to this generation.

D. M.

HISTORIA DE LA REFORMA EN ESPAÑA. By C. Gutiérrez-Marín.
Casa Unida de Publicaciones. Mexico D. F. 1942.

Some years ago the author of this preface and publisher of this work was lamenting that the Christian public of Latin America had little or no knowledge of that brilliant if unhappy period of the Spanish Reformation, and that they preserved only the slightest doctrinal relationship with the Fathers of that heroic Christian episode, in comparison with that which was manifest in other peoples of the Latin race. "Now since Protestantism is a spirit, a spirit which inspired the efforts of all those who within the fold of the Catholic Church stood forth in its spiritual renewal, and who among our own Latin peoples pointed out with prophetic finger courses of life-giving spirituality, why do we not build the foundations of our impulse of renewal upon the base laid by their efforts? Why should not we continue the work of Pedro Valdo, of Savonarola, of Juan de Valdés? Why do we not make firm our roots in the reform movement which was prematurely extinguished by the Inquisition and Jesuitism?"

Evangelical Christianity has developed in the countries of Spanish America from being an imported Anglo-Saxon article which was exotic to the mind and temperament of our race. The legend of Protestant "chill" which does not suit the so-called fieriness of the Latin soul has been spread abroad with insidious insistence and has been welcomed as an axiom, not only by the populace but also by writers of note who, doing without a calm critical examination of the matter, support it shamelessly. A short time ago, a professor of the National University of Mexico, a man of authority who is greatly to be esteemed on other counts, repeated it with conclusive force. The concocters and disseminators of this legend appear to forget, in the first place, that there are other elements besides southern warmth in the Spanish character, and much more so in the American species, which has a blend of the age-old melancholy and austerity of the Indian; further they are turning their backs on history and are keeping back what they know, or ought to know, about the vigorous reform movements which have arisen on Latin soil, surely an incontestable proof that the Reformation is not exclusively Anglo-Saxon property. It is not the Spanish temperament which is at variance with the Reformation, but rather the gloomy and parching climate created by the Jesuits and the Inquisition.

But it must be recognised that the blame for the legend mentioned above must be borne partly by the ignorance and unconcern of the Evangelical Christians of Hispano-America with regard to the reform movements in countries which are akin to them in blood and tradition, and particularly Spain. It is our duty to understand the

Spanish Reformation, to steep ourselves in its spirit, admit to our lives the influence of its heroes and martyrs, and quench our thirst at the fountains of its theology and preaching, and from that Reformation which ended in tribulation make our own triumphant Reformation. For this end two things are indispensable: to read the Spanish reformers and to make ourselves familiar with the movement they started.

It is obvious that we must begin with the second of these. And yet it might well happen that the works of the reformers should continue, as before, unread, owing to the lack of interest united to the widespread ignorance as to who they were and what great deeds they did, were not this book directed to end such a state of affairs—this book written by the Spanish pastor Claudio Gutiérrez-Marín, who is himself the spiritual inheritor, by direct descent, of the Spanish reformers.

It is not the least merit of this work that it should be the first in Castilian which aims, with such a complete chronology for the period it treats of, at taking the chief episodes and portraying the courageous figures of the Reformation in Spain. The investigation begins in fact with those early New Testament days when Saint Paul already bore in his heart that joyful charge of the Spirit to carry the Gospel to Spain, and loved it "with the bowels of Jesus Christ". Beginning there the author pursues his researches diligently through those religious movements in which there glows an intimate and burning faith to that "other Spanish Christ" of Whom John Mackay has spoken so movingly, that Christ of the gospels who is not stifled, nor ever shall be, by the sinister hand of any form of Inquisition. We see this devotion to Christ, through the centuries, aflame on the spiritual hearth of Spain, praying in the burning passion of her mystics, in the unquenchable ardour of her reformers, yes even in the inspired striving of thinkers and philosophers who like Unamuno have marked themselves with the sword-print of love, and carried the cross in their hearts.

This book sets forth with an ordered simplicity and great clearness of exposition the various stages of the Protestant movement in Spain (as it may fittingly be called), as it first developed with a purely native impulse, and later was encouraged by the direct missionary power of Protestants from other lands. The author shows us the facts in their chronological sequence, grouping them round those vigorous personalities who headed the movement and kept it on the march. In this way the narrative gains extraordinary life and power.

Merely to read the *History of the Reformation in Spain* has immense value. It is impossible to turn its pages without feeling

the vibration of sympathetic hearts in the depth of one's being: without regretting how much of spiritual richness is lost by those who are ignorant of those heroic deeds and of those few valiant souls to whom God committed the unrewarding task of witnessing to Christ in the face of powerful and implacable hostile powers. But further this book has a unique value as a study book. The hour has come when we ought to study the Reformation in Spain not as a mere episode running parallel to the Lutheran or Calvinist Reformations, but as an original movement, creative and characteristic, which deserves a special course of study. Don Claudio Gutiérrez-Marín has with this work done a great service to the cause of the Gospel, not only in his own country but through Hispano-America.

—Translated from the preface by G. Báez-Camargo.

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"The first pages of this History began to be written some years ago in the shelter of the peace that was granted to a fortunate nation to enjoy in spite of her minor interior troubles. No one at that time could have suspected that a tremendous hurricane of death and of hatred would yet scourge the four quarters of Spain. The cruel reality forced itself upon us as we saw in our dreams the best and most prosperous days of her history draw near our land. We were tragically mistaken: the outbreak of war destroyed all our fruitful labours.

"I had in my possession a veritable arsenal of documents which were both authentic and hitherto unedited. Some were incorporated in time in the present volume, but others were lost for ever. I was driven by the storms of war to abandon them. At the very time of leaving the country I was amassing the chapters of this historical work which now sees the light of day on American soil. It actually contains pages from my own life and my own sufferings. It is for me one tiny splinter which I have been able to rescue from that unlooked-for shipwreck. If in its words some note of harshness suddenly strikes the ear, the reader will understand the spiritual crisis through which its author passed. It is not possible to write calmly when a whole nation and a whole work of faith have crumbled by the will of man.

"Even within the limits of so compact a work I believe that an approximate idea will be gathered of the great achievement and the no less great sufferings of Spanish believers in the course of their painful journey. If this is so I shall have gained my object."

—Translated from the author's foreword.